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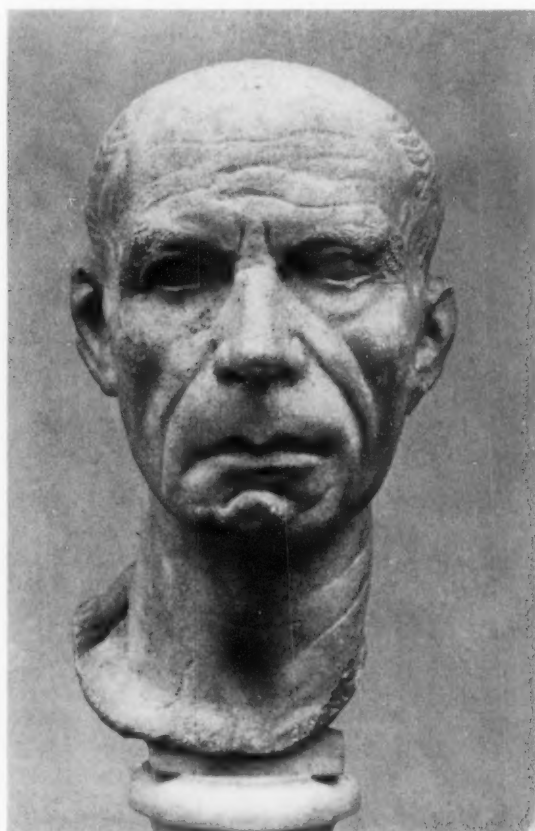
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BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

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BUST OF AN OLD MAN
ROMAN, REPUBLICAN PERIOD

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE NIPPON BIJUTSU-IN	222
A TONDO OF PRUDENCE BY LUCA DELLA ROBBIA	224
CLASSICAL ACCESSIONS	225
IV. Roman Portraits	
LEGROS, LEPÈRE, AND ZORN	229
REARRANGEMENT OF STAINED GLASS INCLUDING SOME RECENT ACQUISI- TIONS	233
FORTUNY AS A COLLECTOR AND RE- STORER OF ANCIENT ARMS AND ARMOR	235
CHINESE JEWELRY OF THE T'ANG PERIOD	237
NOTES	238
Christmas Gifts—An Egyptian Sup- plement—Membership—Attendance— Study-Hours for Members—Silver by Jeronimus Alstyne—American Metal- work and Fixed Decorations—Insignia of the Order of the Cincinnati—A Re- cent Loan—The Staff—The Egyptian Expedition	
LIST OF ACCESSIONS AND LOANS	241
CALENDAR OF LECTURES	243

THE NIPPON BIJUTSU-IN

KOJIRO TOMITA, Assistant Curator of the Department of Chinese and Japanese Art in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, has translated the following statement about the Nippon Bijutsu-in for a catalogue of their paintings. These paintings are to be shown in Room H 11, beginning November 30 and continuing through December 26.

The Nippon Bijutsu-in, or Fine Arts Academy of Japan, is an association of Japanese artists which aims at once to conserve and to develop the art ideals of Asia. From its foundation in 1898, it has been a vital force in the art activities of Japan, and has the distinction today of being the only independent organization of artists which can seriously rival the Imperial Art Academy. It is fitting at this time to review its notable career.

Toward the close of the last century the

people of the hitherto isolated Empire of Japan found themselves eagerly imitating all that the West had to offer. In the field of art racial impulses were imperiled by an indiscriminate absorption of European modes of expression. Even the government authorities in the Department of Education, who had jurisdiction over the National School of Art in Tokyo, allowed themselves to drift with the popular current and it soon became apparent that the policies of the School itself, which had been established for the purpose of rejuvenating and perpetuating the national art, were to be reshaped. The controversy which arose between these government officials and the late Okakura-Kakuzo, then Director of the School, terminated in the resignation of the latter, whereupon many members of the faculty who sympathized with his views also relinquished their positions. United under Mr. Okakura's leadership, this body of men at once took upon itself the task of establishing an institution which should be dedicated to the furtherance of their common ideals. Within a few months after the break with the National School of Art, the Bijutsu-in was born, and its members were at work in the studios and classrooms of its new and specially erected buildings in Yanaka, Tokyo. Here, with Okakura-Kakuzo, the distinguished critic, as Chief Councilor, and Gahō Hashimoto, the most lamented of all modern artists of Japan, as Director, this group of pioneers turned to its self-appointed task. Unhindered by government interference and liberated from the bonds of mere tradition, they were free to revel in the resources of that dim past when art was not a profession but a passion. Inspiration was to be the motive power of their creations. Among the early activities of the Bijutsu-in may be mentioned, first, the training of the younger generation in the practice of art; second, the holding of biennial exhibitions in Tokyo and occasional traveling exhibitions in various provinces; and third, the publication of a monthly magazine called the Nippon Bijutsu.

Indeed, the insistent efforts of the Bijutsu-in in those early days were in the main responsible for the reawakening of

the national consciousness in art. The nation as a whole, however, continued to be deeply immersed in Occidental materialism, while native art commanded the attention of relatively few. This attitude of indifference on the part of the public, coupled with the Russo-Japanese War, which came in 1904, retarded, temporarily at least, the progress of the association, and it was during this period of inactivity at home that several of its members traveled through India, Europe, and the

ring under the direction of the Minister of Education, and when the first National Exhibition of Modern Art was held under the government auspices, not only was Mr. Okakura on its Council and Jury, but Gahō, Taikwan and Kwanzan also served as jurors while many of Bijutsu-in members enthusiastically coöperated by contributing examples of their work. As time went on, however, it was felt by many that the annual government exhibitions were fast becoming breeders of a certain type of art,



CATFISH BY MAEDA SEISON

United States in company with Mr. Okakura. In 1906 the Bijutsu-in quarters in Yanaka were abandoned and in their stead studios were erected in Izura, Hidachi Province, overlooking the Pacific Ocean, where Taikwan Yokoyama, Shunso Hishida, Kwanzan Shimomura and Bazan Kimura took up their residence near the estate of Mr. Okakura. In this little village of Izura, remote from all society save that of a few fishermen, these artists cultivated their cherished ideals; while Mr. Okakura, during occasional absences in Boston, was earnestly interpreting the art of the Far East. Even though situated at a distance from the metropolis, the Bijutsu-in members were nevertheless in close touch with the new movement in art which was stir-

thereby discouraging self-expression. To such a tendency, minds like those which dominated the Bijutsu-in could not submit. The Bijutsu-in members accordingly revolted and once more, in 1914, unfurled their standard by opening in Tokyo an exhibition of their own. From that year the rivalry has continued and annually the Bijutsu-in has held an exhibition which has been thought often to surpass, in spirit at least, that of the government. A vigorous campaign on the part of the Bijutsu-in may be said to be responsible for the establishment of the Imperial Art Academy in 1919 for the purpose of supervising a new movement in connection with the National Exhibition.

Before the reopening of the Bijutsu-in

in 1914, death had claimed a number of its charter members, among them Gahō (in 1908) and Shunso (in 1912). The untimely decease of Mr. Okakura in 1913 dealt such a severe blow that the disruption of the Bijutsu-in seemed imminent. But the unwillingness of the few surviving original members to lose their identity in the art world which had its focus in the government exhibition, put new life into the association and prompted the rebuilding of the studios in Tokyo. Here in their new home these veteran pioneers, together with their newly elected associates, consecrating themselves anew to the realization of Mr. Okakura's vision, are again bending their energies to revitalizing the contemporary art movement in Japan. Of the artists associated with the Bijutsu-in, there are at present eighteen painters and nine sculptors. Most of the former group are contributors to the present exhibition.

A TONDO OF PRUDENCE BY LUCA DELLA ROBBIA

LAST spring the Museum purchased in Paris at the first sale of the Heilbrunner Collection an important sculpture in enameled terracotta by Luca della Robbia. This large medallion¹ in high relief, representing Prudence surrounded by a wreath of fruit and leaves, was first published and described as the work of Luca della Robbia by Professor Allan Marquand in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, volume XVI, 1912, pp. 169-174. The tondo, which is now exhibited in Gallery J 12, is also described at length in Professor Marquand's book on Luca della Robbia (No. 48, pp. 166-167).

Bound with blue ribbons, a broad garland of fruit—grapes, quinces, citrons, pine cones, oranges, and cucumbers—glazed in shades of green, yellow, and violet, surrounds the medallion on which Prudence is represented, in half figure, holding in her right hand a mirror, emblem of reflection, and in her left hand a serpent, typifying wisdom. The figure is enameled white; the background is light blue, originally covered with golden rays now al-

¹ Diameter, 69 inches (1.65m.).

most obliterated; the figure rises from a bank of white and dark blue clouds; the snake is green, spotted with yellow and black. Although Prudence is figured as a woman, the back of her head is modeled to represent the mask of a bearded man; the eyebrows of both faces are stippled in blue and the eyes have light yellow irises outlined in blue.

The representation of Prudence with two faces, one youthful and the other elderly, requires a word of comment. It has been suggested that this means that Prudence gives to youth the wisdom of old age. It may also be understood to indicate that Prudence looks both forward and backward.

Two other Virtues are known, which presumably belonged to the same series as the Prudence. One of these, representing Faith, was at one time in the possession of Heilbrunner, and is described by Professor Marquand in the works previously mentioned. The third is the well-known medallion of Temperance in the Cluny Museum, Paris. This relief, which is accepted by competent critics as the work of Luca della Robbia, is said once to have decorated a Pazzi chapel, or palace, near Florence, possibly the Panciatichi Ximenes Villa near Fiesole. The provenance of the two Heilbrunner reliefs is not known, except that they came from Florence.

Professor Marquand, in his book on Luca della Robbia, points out that the frame surrounding the Heilbrunner Faith "is distinguished from those of the Heilbrunner Prudence and Cluny Temperance in having a cord moulding as an inner boundary. Hence it may have belonged to an independent series representing the three theological virtues. In which case we may expect some day to recover the medallions representing Hope and Charity." On the other hand, Professor Marquand suggests that it is equally probable that this medallion may have "held a central position in some decorative scheme analogous to that of the ceiling of the Portogallo Chapel, that associated with it were the Heilbrunner Prudence and the Cluny Temperance, and that the missing medallions of Fortitude and Justice may some day come to light."

As the Cluny Temperance is said to have come from a Pazzi chapel or palace near Florence, Professor Marquand suggests the possibility that the three medallions "may have been originally intended for the Pazzi Chapel of S. Croce, and that either the series was never completed, or never put in

no question, however, as to the artistic merit of these three reliefs, which are thoroughly characteristic of the great Florentine master at the height of his powers. The Prudence is a welcome accession to our collection of Florentine sculpture of the Quattrocento, which hither-



PRUDENCE, TONDO OF ENAMELED TERRACOTTA
BY LUCA DELLA ROBBIA

place. The medallions are apparently of the proper size for the spandrels, and would harmonize with Luca's Apostles on the walls of the chapel better than the four garish Evangelists which now complete its decoration." In date the reliefs are assigned to the decade 1450-60.

The suggestion that these reliefs may have been made for the celebrated Pazzi chapel is an interesting one, but the evidence at present available does not seem to warrant any definite conclusion. There is

to has included but one example of the work of Luca, the exquisite Madonna and Child in the Altman Collection. J. B.

CLASSICAL ACCESSIONS

IV. ROMAN PORTRAITS

SEVEN conspicuous examples of Roman portraiture have recently been added to the Museum collection, which is fast becoming well rounded and representative. Two of these date from the Republican

epoch, three from the Augustan period, one is an example of second-century work, and one is a product of the third century A. D.¹

In order to understand Roman portraiture it is indispensable to know what preceded it, to realize, in other words, what were the influences which determined its character, and also to bear in mind the course of Roman history; for portraits, more than any other form of art, reflect contemporary events, since such events naturally tend to mould the physiognomies of the people affected by them.



FIG. 1. HEAD OF A WOMAN
AUGUSTAN PERIOD

The two Republican portraits are both exceptionally fine examples. One, a life-size bust of an old man, is a well-known piece (frontispiece).² It was found about 1898 in Egypt, and was formerly in the collections of the sculptor Kopf and of Count Stroganoff, in Rome. It has been published by M. Besnier in the *Monuments Piot*, VI, 1899, pl. XIV, pp. 149 ff., who identified it with Julius Caesar; by S. Reinach in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 3^e pér. XXVII (1902), p. 159, who identified it with Corbulo; and by P. Arndt in *Griechische und Römische Porträts* (1910), Nos. 819, 820, who calls it an unknown Roman.

¹The two Republican portraits are shown in the Recent Accessions Room; the others are in the Hall of Sculpture of the Classical Wing.

²H. 12½ in. (30.8 cm.).

It is certainly too old for Caesar, who died at the age of fifty-four; and though it bears a certain resemblance to Corbulo, there are also important differences, such as the formation of the mouth and the distance between the nose and the upper lip, which is considerably greater in our head than in the extant portraits of Corbulo. So that Arndt's cautious appellation of an "unknown Roman" must be preferred. The bust is well preserved, except that a large part of the nose is missing³ and has been restored, and that there are some minor injuries to the marble, as for instance on the left ear and the left eye. The surface is left unfinished at the back of the head, and the treatment of the neck suggests that it was cut to fit into a statue, either originally or later.

The other bust represents a middle-aged man of alert, energetic personality.⁴ The head is turned rather sharply to the right, which contributes to the impression of vivacity. It is only about half-life-size, and is executed with great care and finish, so that it is a very attractive piece. There are a few chips here and there (some have been restored in plaster), and part of the crown of the head has been cut away; otherwise the preservation is excellent, the surface especially being in very good condition. In accordance with the practice of the time the bust form is quite small.

Stylistically both these Republican portraits are distinguished by their dry realism. Not only are all the furrows and wrinkles and little individual peculiarities faithfully shown, but the men themselves are evidently sober, practical people, without much artistic imagination in their natures. Of such, however, they are speaking likenesses, and the modeling shows throughout a facile, practised hand. Particularly fine in both heads is the modeling of the expressive, mobile mouths. But the sharp furrows and the modeling round the eyes are hard. If we remember that waxen images, probably cast directly from life, were the immediate predecessors of such marble busts in Roman houses, this hard, realistic technique is explained. And

³Only the left nostril is preserved.

⁴H. 7 in. (17.8 cm.).

when we bear in mind the character of the men who built up the Roman republic we shall recognize here the faithful portraits of these rigid, able people.

With models and technique both preparing the way for realistic portraiture, it is natural that Roman artists embarked on it. But Rome is by no means the originator of it, as has sometimes been assumed. The fine series of Hellenistic busts in marble, on coins, and on engraved gems have sufficiently shown that the Greeks of the third and second centuries B. C. were masters of individualization and paved the way for the later conceptions. Only here the realism is never "dry," for the physiognomies still have the imaginative quality of the Greeks, and the modeling is more flowing and delicate.

With the Augustan age a new element entered into Rome and its people. From a small city she had at last become the center of a vast empire. The outlook had necessarily immensely widened. She came in touch with a thousand outside influences and exchanged the simple, circumscribed life of her stern fathers for one of comfort, culture, and appreciation of the arts. This change is reflected in our three new Augustan portraits. One, of a young man, in exceptionally good preservation (fig. 2)⁵ bears a certain resemblance to the fine head in the Baracco Museum, No. 191, as well as, in a general way, to the heads of Augustus—as is so often the case in private portraits of the Julio-Claudian period. The face presents a great contrast to the Republican heads. We have no longer the stern, rather bourgeois type of the Republican Roman, but the smooth, refined bearing of a cosmopolitan gentleman. Moreover, the rendering of the features is more generalized, less literal than in Republican times, due to a conscious return to earlier Greek "idealism." The modeling is able, but rather hard. The small size of the bust—including only the collar bone—conforms to contemporary usage.

The other two heads are evidently of a mother (fig. 1)⁶ and daughter.⁷ They are

⁵ Acc. No. 19.192.40; H. 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (40 cm.).

⁶ Acc. No. 18.145.16; H. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (21.3 cm.).

⁷ Acc. No. 18.145.17; H. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (19.4 cm.).

slightly under life-size, and originally formed part of a funerary relief, as the treatment of the back shows. Both are excellent examples of their time; they are finely modeled, with better appreciation for the soft and hard surfaces than is usual in Roman work, and the types show very convincingly the general refinement of the Augustan epoch. Both the heads strike us at once, in fact, with their modern ap-



FIG. 2. BUST OF A YOUNG MAN
AUGUSTAN PERIOD

pearance. The woman's sensitive, intelligent, and rather sad face, with its high cheekbones and slightly aquiline nose, might be the portrait of an American, and the daughter, with her long, oval face, protruding forehead, and firm, rounded chin, is also a familiar type. The way their hair is dressed contributes to their modern appearance. The girl's hair is parted in the middle and brought down low over the ears, while the mother wears twisted side curls with a tress along the top of her head. This latter fashion, with or without side curls, came into vogue in the late Republican period, and remained in favor during the reign of Augustus. It can be observed on the coin types of Fulvia, the wife of

Mark Antony, as well as on those generally identified with Octavia, the sister of Augustus. The preservation of both heads is fair. The girl's nose is partly missing and the marble is discolored in places.

The portraits we have so far considered are products of Rome during her greatness—the times of her upbuilding and of her highest achievement. The two remaining pieces belong to the period of her decline; but just as her political decline was slow

to date the head as generally before the middle of the second century. It is a good, effective piece of work, but the rather decadent type of youth contrasts strongly with the sturdy Republicans and intellectual Julio-Claudians we have been considering. The bust is in an astonishing state of preservation, being practically intact except for some discoloration on the face and chest. Between the bust itself and its round base is a lion's skin carved in relief.



FIG. 3. BUST OF A YOUTH
II CENTURY A. D.



FIG. 4. BUST OF A WOMAN
III CENTURY A. D.

and spread over several centuries, so the deterioration of her art was gradual; and in portraiture a high level was maintained almost to the end. A head of a youth with thick hair, bushy eyebrows, and somewhat heavy, insipid face is a good example of the second century A. D. (fig. 3).⁸ The bust form which includes the shoulders and armpit is characteristic of the time of Trajan, while the treatment of the eyes, with incised iris and pupil in the form of a segment, and the high polish of the marble are features introduced in the Hadrianic and Antonine periods. So that it is safer

⁸Acc. No. 18.145.11; H. 25 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (65.5cm.).

The last bust to be considered shows the art of Roman portraiture a century later. The first impression is distinctly striking. We have a beautifully preserved portrait of a distinguished lady of gracious personality and refined features (fig. 4)⁹; especially attractive is the small, finely curved mouth, slightly turned up at the corners. Her hair is elaborately dressed, wavy in front, brought down on either side behind her ears, and then plaited together and laid against the back of the head in a broad, flat braid. It is the fashion prevalent at the time of the empress Otacilia (244 A. D.).

⁹Acc. No. 18.145.39; H. 25 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (65cm.).

and the large size of the bust form, which includes the entire upper half of the figure, also conforms to the custom of that time. But though impressive in a way, the conception of personality is really superficial. It lacks a living spirit, and we soon tire of it. But as a product of a period when art was generally at a low ebb it is a remarkable achievement.

G. M. A. R.

LEGROS, LEPÈRE, AND ZORN

AS announced in a note in the last number of the BULLETIN, the walls of the print galleries have been hung with representative selections from the work of Legros, Lepère, and Zorn. Most of the prints exhibited come from the Museum collection, to which many of them came as part of the estate of the late Harris Brisbane Dick. The lacunae in the permanent collections of the work of these three men have been filled with prints, many of them of great rarity, which have been kindly lent by several friends of the Museum. Among these gentlemen may be mentioned George Matthew Adams, Frank Altschul, Thomas L. Bennett, Robert W. de Forest, Howard Mansfield, Rudolph Ruzicka, and Robert Scoville, to all of whom thanks are due not only for their generosity but for their ready aid and sympathy.

As it happens, the three print galleries contain the evidence in the case of three men, of whom one stayed at home and another went abroad and settled down, while the third went abroad and wandered about. Were one skilful enough, one could develop the theme quite in the manner of one of Grimm's fairy tales—and possibly wind it up with a moral, neatly pointed, as so many of them were.

The eldest of the three was Alphonse Legros, who, having been born in 1837, was a youth in the turbulent Paris of the young men of the famous "Salon des refusés" of 1863, to which, if memory serves, he contributed. He was a pupil of Lecocq de Boisbaudran, an instructor whose theory of memory training was subsequently to make him famous, and who so taught Legros that he was able to make a detailed copy

of Holbein's portrait of Erasmus in the Louvre entirely from memory. This trained memory was to become one of Legros' most striking characteristics, since wherever he went he studied the work of the particular old masters he most worshiped. The result was that before he died his admirers bestowed upon him the loving appellation of "belated old master." While still a young man, having failed to make a success of his struggle against poverty, he emigrated to England on the advice of some of his friends, among whom at that time were Fantin-Latour and James Whistler, and through whose kindly influence he secured an appointment to one of the Slade teaching professorships. For a full generation he taught drawing, painting, and etching at the Slade school, exerting an influence which strongly affected the lives and subsequent careers of a number of younger men who later achieved positions of importance in the English art world. He seems to have learned but the very smallest amount of English, and although he taught busily for more than a score years and married an Englishwoman and was the father of a family, he remained because of this a stranger in his own school and in his own house, just as he was a stranger in England itself. After his memory this may well have been the most important single factor in his life, because it explains so marvelously his curious detachment from the things which surrounded him. Nowhere in all his work can one detect an instance in which anything English played any part; there is no English characteristic, no English fact. Although he was a master in the art of constructing landscapes, his landscape was always Continental; although he spent his life delineating peasants and beggars and monks, none of them was English. In his aloof way he dreamed and was a poet, his French blood showing itself in his interest in the macabre, a subject matter to which he returned again and again as though fascinated by it. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century this isolated, lonely man sought self-forgetfulness in the story of Death, elaborating, refining, simplifying the impersonal tale like any Frenchman of

the fifteenth century, clinging to it as though to the one thing of which there could be no doubt.

After he went to England his most immediate contact with life was shown in the series of etched portraits which came in a steady flow from his hand. He became after a fashion the preferred portrait etcher of the intellectual Englishman; Tennyson, Carlyle, Huxley, Watts, and many another great man sitting to him. It is doubtful indeed whether any other etcher of modern times has made such an array of portraits of such historically important persons, and it is certain that, whatever judgment posterity may have for the rest of his work, these portraits, at the head and forefront of which stands the great and austere plate of Cardinal Manning, will always retain their value as important documents for the history of their time.

The second of the men whose prints are exhibited was Auguste Lepère, who was born in 1849. He was the one who stayed at home. There he was taught wood engraving as a trade under Smeeton, one of the Englishmen who emigrated to France in the early 'forties at the time when the vignette books of the Daumier-Gavarni type were issuing at their fastest from the Paris press and when the French illustrated weeklies were entering upon the first of their great periods of expansion. Smeeton was a commercial engraver and he was the *patron* of a shop in which engraved reproductions of drawings and paintings were turned out in quantity for the publishing trade. One can think of little more different from the surroundings in which Legros got his early training, for it may be summed up in the antagonism which we feel between the words "studio" and "factory." Thus it was that Lepère grew up in the busy atmosphere of commercialized journalism, and in his own time came to be the *patron* of a similar establishment from which flowed in a steady stream wood blocks for every conceivable purpose. Naturally he never quite lost some of the things that had become ingrained in him during what may be called his commercial career.

But Lepère was not only an engraver for the trade, he was also an inveterate ex-

perimenter in technique; and having in time become the most skilful of modern French reproductive wood engravers, he went further and finally became the maker of his own designs, doing what none of his countrymen before him seems to have done, turning himself into a *peintre-graveur* on wood. He was thus the first of the great modern French school of original wood engravers, and as yet remains unsurpassed by any of his followers in his command over all of the resources of the block. Whether in the beginning he grasped the idea of the wood block as a medium of distinctive character it is impossible to say, but before he had finished there can be no doubt that he had done more to show its possibilities than any engraver who preceded him. Especially he became aware of the primary fact that the brilliance of a woodcut depends upon the sharpness and definiteness of the contrasts between the white of the paper and the black of the ink. Having discovered the value of his whites, whether from personal experience, or, as seems more likely, from study of the little blocks that Daumier contributed to such books as the *Physiologies* which were so popular in the eighteen-forties, he also found out that the only way to get them into his prints was by engraving drawings in which the whites played a prominent part. And to get this done he had to do it himself.

This he was enabled to do in large measure through the generosity and interest of several great bibliophiles and publishers who called upon him to execute the prints with which some of the most noteworthy of modern illustrated books are embellished. Trained not as an artist but as a commercial engraver working for periodicals, most of his work bears the undeniable stamp of the journalist. He was in no sense of the word a decorator, and the very idea of there being four-square lines about a picture bothered him. He remained until the end a vignettist, a reporter of the fact, without care for form or balance, and seemingly unaware that a picture on the page of a book either could or should bear any relationship to the type with which it was to appear. In this, however, it is not at all certain that he differed from his

countrymen and it is not so much to be regarded as an error in either taste or judgment as a witness to the fact that he was most essentially a Frenchman of his own time. After all, the eighteen-nineties in Paris had their distinctive style, and it was that of Lepère.

Not content with a countless number of graver experiments in black and white on the wood block, he went further and tried his hand at chiaroscuros and color prints, cut planks with the knife in the old traditional technical manner, and even produced prints in the Japanese technique. He made drawings to be reproduced by process and by other engravers, and he made a few lithographs as charming as any part of his work. In middle age his attention was called to etching by an outburst of Bracquemond's and according to the story he promptly jumped into a sea of acid and as immediately emerged from it with his arms full of etchings.

Hitherto his work had been known to the bibliophile and the book publisher, but with this emergence he came to the notice of the collector and dealer in prints who as a general rule pay little attention to book illustration or even to the woodcut unless it be by some famous Renaissance master. He promptly took his place among the most prominent and best liked of contemporary etchers, every year seeing the circle of his admirers broaden out until finally they were to be found not only in France but in England and America.

In his etchings, possibly because so many of them came out as single sheets in which the plate line served willy-nilly as a reminder of the boundaries of his picture, he gave more attention to composition and to the filling of his space than he ever had in his woodcuts, where by long habit and familiar example he had been accustomed to trail his pictures off into the type pages. The stiffening that this gave to his scheme of picture making was immediately visible and his work greatly improved because of it, but neither the man nor the hand changed in any fundamental respect. He remained the happy reporter of pleasant days in the country, the observant *picton* in the streets of Paris and Nantes, the lover of old

buildings and quaint corners. No other modern maker of prints would seem to have extracted so much quiet amusement and interest from the places where men go, and none of them to have recorded a greater variety of pleasures. From the Abside of Notre Dame to the rookeries of Saint-Severin, from the quais of the Seine at Paris to the Harbor at Nantes, he loved and was at home with the people, and not content with river and city he followed them to the dusty country roads winding hot and white over the hills and through the forests, and saw them in their farm-yards and about their country occupations. It was journalistic, for it could not have been done in any other spirit, this reporting of the habitations of men, but it was well done and the world is much the richer for its having been done.

The third and youngest of the men whose work is shown in the galleries, was the only one of the nineteenth-century etchers who lived to see his work competed for in all the print markets of the world, and to hear of prices paid for single impressions from his plates that were as high as those paid for prints from the hands of the greatest of the old masters. Of Legros' work there are two available lists, both in French, and neither of them covers more than about half his work. Of Lepère's there is one list, incomplete and in French. Of Zorn's etchings there are many catalogues, in French, English, German, and Swedish—a compliment, so far as known to the writer, never before paid to any etcher within many generations after his death.

Unlike Legros and Lepère, who had to struggle and wait for skill and reputation, Zorn was a marked man by the time he had completed his thirtieth year, and perhaps, even, by that time he had done his most noteworthy work. He was a kind of *Wunderkind*; a Swedish peasant lad, friends of his father sent him to the art school in Stockholm in 1875 at the age of fifteen. Brilliant in the schools, he was traveling by the time he was twenty-one. He went to England, to France, and to Spain, doing water colors that were greatly admired everywhere. In England under the watchful and friendly eye of his anglicized coun-

tryman Axel Herman Haig, whose large architectural etchings were at one time so greatly in vogue, he began etching. His earliest prints were done at a time when he was still fresh from Spain, and at a time also when he was much under the influence of J. J. Tissot. Later in Paris he saw the work of the French impressionist painters and adopted a style in his painting which while distinctively his own shows unmistakably whence it came.

His prints with their remarkable brilliance of light and shade, and their division into spots of indefinitely contoured color, are the immediate reflection of his technique with the brush. A hundred years earlier Goya had made wash drawings upon the copper, calling to his aid the aquatint process. But aside from a few experiments by Delacroix and Manet, etching had remained distinctly a linear method, unless possibly for the so elaborately wiped plates produced by Whistler during his Venetian period, and it was not until Zorn came upon the scene that any one again exhibited an etching technique boldly based upon the use of the brush rather than of the point. His prints in large measure can be assimilated to the work of painters who use opaque water color applied boldly to the paper with a dry square brush. It was an innovation which carried the world before it. He exhibited in Paris in 1889 and again in 1891, and he was a made man.

One of the Swedish representatives to the World's Fair held at Chicago in 1893, he spent more than a year in this country, forming many friendships and painting and etching the portraits of many distinguished persons. After that he became literally a man of the world; for although he made his home in Sweden, he was much in England and France and not infrequently in this country. His latest Swedish biographer compares him to Ishmael. It is to this uneasy wandering, perhaps, that is due the lack of any particularly local characteristics in his work—he was at home and comfortable in too many places for it ever to take on any especial local accent.

Even in his subject matter he was for the greater part international, since aside from

a few Swedish genre scenes his work was principally confined to portraiture and the nude. It is to his etched studies of the naked female figure that he doubtless owes much of his esteem among collectors. There was a photographic lack of reticence about his blue-eyed vision, which, very masculine and quite ruthless, found keen, breezy enjoyment in observing the bathers along the shore. At times his boldness of vision passed into downright insolence and there are even plates which verge perilously upon what is known as the vulgar. But in spite of this tendency, possibly even in part because of it, his frank eye saw many things which to the world have proved full of brilliance and charm. Alone of all modern etchers, perhaps better than any of the older ones excepting Rembrandt, Zorn rendered the unclad human body. There have been better draughtsmen, greater composers of pictures, deeper thinkers, but no etcher with that one exception has so suggested the smooth rotundity of the human body as seen through its atmospheric envelope.

Skilful as the nudes are, it is quite possible that it is to the long series of portraits that Zorn must look for his more abiding and sober renown. Like the nudes they are superficial, and unlike them there are many more failures in their number, for it may as well be admitted it was not always that Zorn was successful. Some at best are *portraits chargés*, some frankly are stupid performances—the kind of thing to be expected of a man whose carelessness often led to digestive troubles and their consequent effect upon both mind and hand—but among them there are many most brilliant and telling presentations of the outward aspect of men in whom the world is likely to be long interested. On occasion, as in the portrait known as *The Toast*, and in those of Renan and Marquand, Zorn produced prints which inevitably will take rank among the most startling and vital portraits ever produced on the copper and which will hold their own without thought of the person represented.

The difficulty of judging of a performance marked by such great inequalities, such startling brilliance and such leaden dull-

ness, such errors in taste, is extremely difficult, for there is no median line to go by. The critic of today if he be wise will content himself with pointing out fearlessly the extremes between which the pendulum swings, leaving any attempt at determination of its resting point to be undertaken by others.

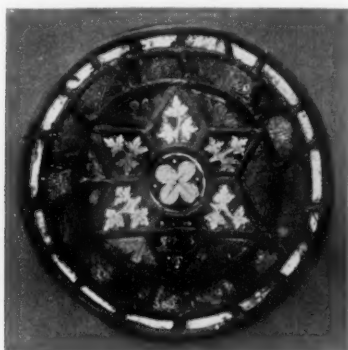
W. M. I., JR.

REARRANGEMENT OF STAINED GLASS INCLUDING SOME RECENT ACQUISITIONS

THE display of works of decorative art in museums presents few more difficult problems than that of the installation of

the earlier glass is in the windows to the right of the entrance, the later glass to the left.

In the first window in the right-hand wall Gothic glass of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries from France, England, and Germany has been grouped. It is at first characterized by heavy leading studied carefully in connection with the design, by the employment chiefly of full pure color whose general tone is deep and rich, and by a bold use of paint with very little gradation between its tones. The three roundels in the lower left-hand corner show glass painting developing through these centuries in three countries—France, Germany, and England. The first and the



ROUNDEL
FRENCH, XIV CENTURY



ROUNDEL
ENGLISH, XV CENTURY

examples of stained glass. The necessity for sufficient light in the galleries frequently precludes the filling of side-windows with colored glass, while the glass itself does not show to best advantage if much overhead light is admitted. There is, however, a happy mean whereby light sufficient for objects in cases may be admitted from overhead but so controlled as to darken the inside surfaces of stained glass shown in side-windows. An experiment along these lines is seen in the recent installation of forty-six pieces of stained glass of the thirteenth to the eighteenth century in the Gold Room (Floor II, Room 32) of the Museum.

A strictly chronological arrangement has not been possible, due to the varying shapes and sizes of the pieces, but in general

last are recent acquisitions by the Museum and have not before been shown. The French example,¹ a piece from the fourteenth century, is a detail from a larger composition. The whole essential portion of the design is marked by the leading and the juxtaposed colors, the painted decoration playing a subsidiary part. The glass is of uneven thickness, which gives variety to the color values. The second little roundel² is an English piece of the fifteenth century illustrative of a type which depends entirely upon its painted design. Occupying the whole of the center is the Eagle of Saint John the Evangelist painted in brown on whitish glass, with pointed radiations of yellow. The eagle holds in his bill a

¹Acc. No. 21.87.2; diameter 9 inches.

²Acc. No. 21.87.1; diameter 7½ inches.

scroll bearing the legend: "In Principio erat v'bû" (In Principio erat Vler|bu|ml, St. John I: 1). This circular piece of glass was originally in one piece, but has been broken and mended. A narrow border of clear blue surrounds the painted design.

In the next window in the same wall, glass principally of the sixteenth century is shown, transitional between Gothic and Renaissance. Although considerable detail of Gothic character appears, the tendency in the work is away from the mosaic idea so marked in the earlier glass, the leading plays a less important part in the design, the pieces of glass are much larger, and painting full of gradations of light and shade emphasizes the feeling of a painted rather than a mosaic picture.

Facing this window is a group of glass of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and one early eighteenth-century heraldic piece in which the mosaic idea has given away completely to that of glass painting. Two recently purchased sashes,³ shown here for the first time, exhibit this latter quality in an extreme degree. They are Netherlandish works of the early seventeenth century and bear the date 1620. The design of the leading and that of the painted decoration are entirely

independent one of the other. The decoration, light and delicate, is entirely un-Gothic in form and is a complete design transferred on to the leaded quarrels of the sash with little reference to the leads.

These sashes bear the heraldic devices of two ladies of high degree, Veronica and Gertrude, widows or daughters respectively of Johan de Huybert and Matthew Van Ems.

The remaining window contains a variety of glass of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in which the use of painting overshadows the use of leading as a medium of the design. Many of the roundels are simply little paintings on single lights of glass without any leading at all. They show a variety of colors in different tones, naturalistic treatments of Biblical subjects, and a decorative use of heraldry.

The glass shown in this room, together with the Gothic and Renaissance glass in the Morgan Wing (Wing F, Rooms 3, 4, 5, 8) and the fine examples of Swiss sixteenth-century heraldic panels in the Altman Collection,

illustrates the art of stained glass throughout Gothic and Renaissance times in Europe and affords an interesting comparison with the colored windows of Near Eastern origin in Galleries E 12, 13, and 14.

C. O. C.



PAINTED CASEMENT SASH
NETHERLANDISH, 1620

³Acc. Nos. 21.87.3-4; 42 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. x 18 $\frac{3}{8}$ in

FORTUNY AS A COLLECTOR AND
RESTORER OF ANCIENT ARMS
AND ARMOR

OUR curator of armor was one day in the Real Armería in Madrid examining an Hispano-Moresque sword in company with his friend, Ricardo de Madrazo. The authenticity of that particular sword was

kitchen maid who had it attached for years to her scullery-knife. I know of a number of swords which Fortuny completed, using an old blade and fashioning a new hilt. You may have some of them in your Museum labeled as fourteenth or fifteenth century! Let me send you, by the way," and he bowed gracefully, "a small gift, a sketch by Fortuny in which he designed the



FIG. 1. SKETCH OF A
SWORD BY FORTUNY



FIG. 2. SWORD-HILT
MADE BY FORTUNY

in question. "Talking of forgeries," said Madrazo, "have you ever seen any of the objects which it amused my distinguished brother-in-law, Mariano Fortuny, to copy or to restore? It would interest you to know how well he did this work and what delight it gave him to show it to his expert friends who admired it as genuine and who were then told that it was made by the painter himself. In point of fact, his Hispano-Moresque sword, now in Venice, is more skilfully executed and more interesting than the one we are looking at. Its ivory hilt is entirely the work of Fortuny, and it was given a wonderful patine by a

hilt which he was about to add to a fine fifteenth-century blade" (fig. 1).

It is not a curious coincidence that such a master as Fortuny should have wished to design hilts of swords or to decorate splendid armor. He was but following the footsteps of greater masters; for Dürer, Holbein, Leonardo, and Cellini, as everyone knows, designed if they did not actually execute arms and armor. Fortuny had the added taste for collecting and restoring. And in these directions he had at hand for expert comparison wonderful authentic specimens; he could handle and study at all times the panoplies of the

Spanish kings in the Armería of which his father-in-law, Federico Madrazo, was the director. His archaeological doings in those days we know from his correspondence,¹ and we find that he was seeking

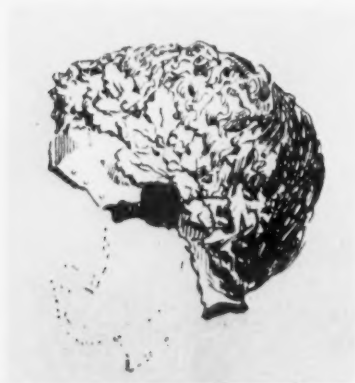


FIG. 3. FACSIMILE OF A SKETCH OF A CASQUE BY FORTUNY

authentic material which concerned his own work. Indeed, his success in restoring arms is due in no little degree to his "documentary" accuracy, and to his persistency

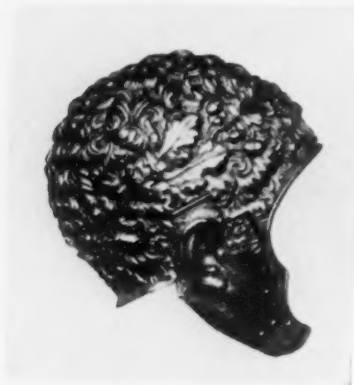


FIG. 4. CASQUE FROM NEGROLÍ ATELIER, ABOUT 1530-35

in experimenting with various technical processes, as when he writes for de Beaumont's recipe for gilding.

Now the fact of the matter is that the guess of Ricardo de Madrazo that the

¹Baron Davillier. Fortuny, sa vie, son œuvre, sa correspondance.

Metropolitan Museum of Art had in its collections some of Fortuny's handiwork, other than paintings, was singularly well directed. We have a sword (fig. 2) (exhibit of false objects) and a splendid original casque, slightly restored (fig. 4) (Fortuny sale-catalogue² Nos. 9 and 20), which can be directly linked with him. The blade of the sword is genuine: the guard was made and gilded by Fortuny and is of a type which could well have accompanied the blade: pommel and hilt are also the work of Fortuny, and we are fortunate in having a facsimile of a sketch by Fortuny of both the sword and the pommel (fig. 5).



FIG. 5. FACSIMILE OF A SKETCH OF A POMMEL BY FORTUNY

Fortuny's sketches of the reverse of the pommel with rosette-shaped border and of the sword are illustrated in Yriarte.³ The pommel, one side of which pictures the Judgment of Paris, was designed in the manner of the great Florentine medallist, Giovanni delle Cornioli.⁴ We exhibit, in fact (Case 19), an original pommel of similar design by Cornioli, and there are several other specimens in the curator's collection.

The second specimen from the Fortuny collection is the parade casque⁵ (fig. 4) (Case

²E. de Beaumont. *Atelier de Fortuny; œuvre posthume; objets d'art . . . armes, etc.* Vente 26 avril, 1875. Paris, 1875.

³Charles Yriarte. Fortuny. *L'Art*, 1875, vol. 1, pp. 361-372, 385-394.

⁴Emile Molinier. *Les plaquettes*. Paris, 1886, vol. 1, No. 134. Robert Forrer. *Die Schwerter und Schwertknäufe der Sammlung Karl von Schwerzenbach*. Leipzig, 1905, p. 36.

⁵Guy Francis Laking. *A Record of European Armour and Arms*, vol. 4, pp. 142-145.

108A), one of the four Negroli specimens in our "Hall of the Princes." This was found in Seville by Fortuny, who mentions it in a letter dated 1871. The skull-piece is shaped like the upper portion of the human head, showing locks of curly hair, bound by a chaplet of gilded oak leaves and acorns. The border of the back of the casque has been cut away. In fig. 3 is a facsimile of a sketch by Fortuny of this helmet: it indicates that the side-pieces were at one time missing and that Fortuny had intended to restore them. However, the original pieces turned up subsequently so that it was not necessary to make the restoration. The side-pieces, with embossed ears, are crudely attached with modern hinges. In the sketch the brow is somewhat deeper than in the actual specimen. Part of the brow has been cut away and a cabled border riveted on. The gilding is also the work of Fortuny, who painted gold powder on and fixed it with the aid of a flux. Careful examination of our casque convinces us that its entire surface is covered with an original patine which would not "take" gold if applied by mercury, a process which a sixteenth-century artist would have employed.

We may note, finally, that the middle of the nineteenth century was a very active period for the armor collector, inspired in no little degree by the romantic stories of Sir Walter and his kind—in fact, the enthusiasm for collecting outrode the legitimate market of arms and armor. Hence forgeries arose on all sides. Fortuny writes in 1873 that the factory of modern arms which he discovered in Rome "continues on a grand scale." And we still find among antiquaries the productions of this and similar workshops. In fact, our curator during many visits abroad has gathered data regarding no less than a hundred copyists,

specimens of whose work we are now bringing together in our armorer's workshop (Gallery H 9): as object-lessons they are of great value, for it is only by constant comparison of the genuine and the false that a collection becomes forgery—"proof." S. V. G.

CHINESE JEWELRY OF THE T'ANG PERIOD

THE use of the curious plaque illustrated is not very clear; probably it once formed part of a buckle made for tomb use.

The thin, openworked sheet of gold laid over a gold bronze plaque is too delicate and fragile ever to have been intended for wear as a buckle or clasp, but ornaments, jewelry, and clothes were made specially for the dead. They were made exactly like the pieces worn in daily life, only not so solid; the semblance and the intention took the place of reality.

This buckle, or rather half of a buckle, for the counterpart is in the Eumorfopoulos Collection in England, consists of a polished light bronze plaque over which is laid a thin sheet of gold pierced and embossed. The center is decorated with the conventional design of a bee, the eyes highly embossed, and is surrounded by a foliage border in which the berries are represented by turquoises and carnelians in cells, of which a few remain. The main lines of the composition are accentuated by strings of tiny gold beads, a technique of decoration often seen on T'ang jewelry as well as on Roman gold ornaments.

The piece has evidently been found in a T'ang tomb or possibly in an earlier one; where, unfortunately, we do not know. It is very charming in design, specially the drawing of the central motive, a bee with half-spread wings, indicated with the fewest possible but most characteristic lines.



GOLD JEWELRY
CHINESE, T'ANG PERIOD

This new addition to our Chinese jewelry is in style very like the round plaque described in the BULLETIN of January,

1921, and is exhibited, together with the pieces described before, in Room E 9.

S. C. B. R.

ACCESSIONS AND NOTES

CHRISTMAS GIFTS. Now that the Christmas season is approaching, some of our members may be glad to be reminded that there are possibilities in the way of gifts which may be purchased at the Museum, such as photographs, photographic post cards, color prints, small casts, books, and a Museum calendar.

The small photographs, nicely mounted, may be bought by the dozen, and serve as admirable Christmas cards; larger photographs or color prints, framed, make handsome gifts.

A subscription to the Bulletin for children may delight some youngster, while a subscription to the BULLETIN itself may be welcome to those who are not members.

The Museum has issued a calendar for 1922, with a design on the face drawn by T. M. Cleland, and with twelve half-tone pictures of some of the best objects in the Museum. It will make an admirable gift, one that will look well on table or desk, and be of fresh interest each month.

There are several of the publications of the Museum, like the American Silver, the Classical Gems, or the Classical Handbook, which would make excellent gifts. All of them may be seen and bought at the Information Desk.

AN EGYPTIAN SUPPLEMENT. With this issue of the BULLETIN is sent to members and subscribers a supplement, Part II, on the Egyptian Expedition, 1920-1921. This report, the most voluminous ever printed by the Museum, is for sale at the Information Desk.¹ It is divided into four sections: Excavations at Lisht, Excavations at Thebes, Work of the Tytus Memorial Fund, and Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrûn, and each is very fully illustrated.

MEMBERSHIP. At the meeting of the Board of Trustees held on October 17,

¹Price, 50 cents.

1921, the Fellowship in Perpetuity of Henry Marquand was transferred to Frederick Marquand Godwin; and the following persons, having qualified for membership in their respective classes, were elected:

FELLOW IN PERPETUITY

WILLIAM EVARTS BENJAMIN

FELLOWS FOR LIFE

ROBERT STERLING CLARK
CHARLES A. FOWLER
GEORGE J. GOULD

FELLOWSHIP MEMBER

MRS. WILLIAM C. PEYTON

SUSTAINING MEMBERS

MRS. THOMAS W. BAKEWELL
AMOS L. BEATY
CHARLES MORTON BELLAR
JOHN EBENEZER BLEEKMAN
MISS ELIZABETH D. BOWEN
ALBERT BUCHMAN
MRS. HENRY W. J. BUCKNALL
MRS. A. P. L. DULL
CHARLES R. MILLER
HENRY B. NEWHALL
EUGENE SOLOMON
HARRY SWAN

Six hundred and sixty-five persons were elected Annual Members.

ATTENDANCE. The number of persons visiting the Museum from January 1 through October 15, 1921, was 864,467 as against 720,923 during the same period in 1920, which was itself a greater number of visitors than during any previous January 1 to October 15. The attendance on Columbus Day, 7,820, was the largest in the history of the Museum on this particular holiday.

STUDY-HOURS FOR MEMBERS. The program of the new series of Study-Hours for Members, held on Saturday mornings at 10 o'clock in Class Room C, under the

conduct of Grace Cornell of Teachers College, will be as follows:

Nov. 5 Design in the Home by Grace Cornell.

Nov. 19 Homes of the Past by J. Monroe Hewlett.

Dec. 3 Homes of the Present by Mrs. Frederick Lee Ackerman.

Mar. 25 Color in Dress by Grace Cornell.

Apr. 8 Dress of Other Times by Mrs. Theodora F. Pope.

Apr. 22 Dress of Our Own Time by Harry Collins.

length). The teapot is $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. The spout also is octahedral. The jointures of the side and front faces are reinforced at the base with a palmette, and in a ducal mantle on the obverse face in flowing cipher are the initials of the original owner, Aanatje Lansing. It has the original ebony handle which is reinforced with silver rivets and a silver brace. The tray is similarly marked and engraved. It is exhibited with the other pieces of Judge Clearwater's collection in Gallery 22.



TEAPOT AND TRAY
BY JERONIMUS ALSTYNE

SILVER BY JERONIMUS ALSTYNE. Recent additions to Judge Clearwater's collection of American Colonial silver, lent to the Museum, are a teapot and tray made by Jeronimus Alstyne, who was admitted as a freeman of the City of New York, and appears in the Directory of 1787 as a gold- and silversmith. He was a member of the Knickerbocker family of Van Alstyne, which coming from Holland settled in the neighborhood of Kinderhook in Columbia County. Members of it migrated to Albany and to New York. In common with many of the Knickerbockers of intense American patriotic sentiment, he dropped the prefix "Van" from his name at about the close of the War of the Revolution, and therefore his silver bears the mark J. alstyne, in a shaped rectangle. The teapot and tray both are octahedral in form (an octagon the parallel faces of which are of unequal

AMERICAN METALWORK AND FIXED DECORATIONS. In answer to frequent requests, the special exhibition of early American metalwork and fixed decorations, which has been shown in Gallery H 22 A during the summer, will be continued at least until the end of the year. The material here shown has proved of particular interest and usefulness to architects and decorators, and it is hoped that a continuation of its exhibition may enable many who were unable to visit it during the summer to study it within the next few months. The courtesy of the lenders in permitting an extension of the duration of their loans, is very much appreciated.

INSIGNIA OF THE ORDER OF THE CINCINNATI—A RECENT LOAN. In Gallery A 22 may be seen one of the original insignia of the Order of the Cincinnati, lent by

Henry W. Howell. This golden eagle recalls an entente cordiale of almost a century and a half ago whose durability has been amply proved in recent years.

At Newburgh on the Hudson early in the year 1783, the disbandment of the American army was accomplished. The separation of the group of officers after an association of eight years brought to the fore sentiments of deep regret and the hope that this separation might be bridged in some manner in the future. From this desire the Order of the Cincinnati came into being.

The suggestion for the organization of the order has been variously ascribed to General Knox, Baron Steuben, and Captain Shaw. While these men were early interested together in the foundation of the society, it is to the first of them that credit must be given for the original idea and suggestion. General Knox it was who drew up the articles of the institution which were adopted practically unchanged.

The order, the only American order included among the orders of chivalry of the old world,¹ was made up of those officers of the American army and navy, both French and American, who had taken part in the War of Revolution. Its first president was Washington, who held the office from its inception until his death.

The outward symbol of the association was the golden badge, which has been placed on exhibition in the gallery where American silversmiths' work is shown. When first the order was founded, Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, the engineer best known for his plan for the capital city, Washington, furnished designs for the decoration, which was executed in Paris under his direction.

The decoration may best be described by quoting from the articles of institution:

"The society shall have an Order by which its members shall be known and distinguished, which shall be a medal of gold, of a proper size to receive the emblems, and suspended by a deep blue ribbon two inches wide, edged with white,

¹Collection Historique des Ordres de Chevalerie Civils et Militaires par A. M. Perrot. Paris, 1820, p. 111 and Pl. XXII-4.

descriptive of the union of France and America, viz:—

"The principal figure Cincinnatus, three senators presenting him with a sword and other military ensigns; on a field in the background, his wife standing at the door of their cottage; near it a plough and instruments of husbandry. Round the whole, 'Omnia Reliquit Servare Rempublicam.' On the reverse, sun rising; a city with open gates, and vessels entering the port. Fame crowning Cincinnatus, with a wreath inscribed, 'Virtutis Praemium.' Below, hands joined, supporting a heart, with the motto, 'Esto Perpetua.' Round the whole, 'Societas Cincinnatorum Instituta. A. D. 1783.'"

It is interesting to see one of these little badges of such historical interest made in France for American use, the colored ribbon symbolizing a union more than superficial. A use of the L'Enfant design was seen in the Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition last summer, marking the examples of Lowestoft brought from China by Captain Shaw for himself, for Washington, and for Knox.

THE STAFF. Miss Richter, Assistant Curator of Classical Art, last summer had the opportunity of spending six weeks in Italy, first in Sicily visiting the Greek temples at Segesta, Selinus, and Girgenti and working at the museums in Syracuse and Palermo, and then in southern Italy and Rome visiting new excavation sites and studying at the museums. The rest of her stay abroad was passed in France and in England, where she was able to attend the meetings of the Classical Association held in Cambridge at the end of July.

Miss Abbot, Museum Instructor, has just returned from representing the Museum at the Congrès d'Histoire de l'Art, held in Paris from September 26 to October 5. An account of this important meeting will be written for the December issue of the BULLETIN.

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION. The members of the Museum's Egyptian Expedition are now on their way back to Egypt preparatory to undertaking the programs

BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

of excavation laid down for the coming winter.

A. C. Mace, who will be in charge of the excavations in the pyramid-field of Lisht, has been spending the summer in England and has now started for Cairo via Trieste and Alexandria.

Walter Hauser and Lindsley F. Hall, who are the surveyors and draughtsmen of the Expedition, sailed from New York September 30 for the Mediterranean and Egypt.

H. E. Winlock, who will be in charge of the excavations at Thebes, sailed from New York October 22, accompanied by his family and by A. B. Nixon, a member of the Expedition.

Norman de Garis Davies, who, together with Mrs. Davies, is engaged under the Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Fund in the recording and copying of the painted tombs at Thebes, recently left England for Egypt via Trieste.

Henry Burton, a member of the Museum's staff at Thebes, after spending the summer mostly in Italy, sailed from Brindisi for Egypt on October 22.

The Expedition's program for the coming season is a very full one and we may hope for results of corresponding interest and importance in the additions to our Egyptian collections which the excavations are expected to yield.

LIST OF ACCESSIONS AND LOANS

OCTOBER, 1921

CLASS	OBJECT	SOURCE
ANTIQUITIES—EGYPTIAN	*String of granulated gold beads, XVIII dyn.....	Gift of Miss Lily Place.
ANTIQUITIES—CLASSICAL	†Athenian alabastron, V cent. B. C.....	Gift of Miss Gisela M. A. Richter.
ARMS AND ARMOR..... (Wing H, Room 5) (Wing H, Room 9)	Belt clasp, Turkish, XVII cent..... Anvil, Italian, XVI cent.; armorer's vise, North Italian, XVII cent.....	Gift of Oscar Gunkel. Gift of Mrs. Ambrose Monell.
CERAMICS.....	†Ting vase, Sung dyn. (960-1280); saucer dish, Sung or Yüan dyn. (960-1368)—Chinese.....	Purchase. Bequest of Malvina Heller Sontowski.
CLOCKS, WATCHES, ETC..	†Gold watch, French, XVIII cent.....	Purchase.
MANUSCRIPTS.....	*Book, Wearing of Armor, Japanese.....	Purchase.
MEDALS, PLAQUES, ETC..	†Medallion, bronze, commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Wisconsin Academy, by Leonard Crunelles.....	Gift of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters.
METALWORK.....	†Bronze mirrors (2), Chinese, T'ang dyn. (618-906).....	Purchase.
PAINTINGS.....	*Triptych, School of Hans Memling, 1430-1494; Virgin and Child, by Quentin Massys, 1460-1530—Flemish; tempera, painting, Virgin and Child, Umbrian School, late XV or early XVI cent.; Artist and his Wife, by Gabriel Metsu, Dutch, 1630 (?)—1667; Italian Courtyard, by Alexandre Gabriel Decamps, 1805-1860; Sphinx and Oedipus, by Gustave Moreau, dated 1864—French...	Bequest of William H. Heriman.

*Not yet placed on Exhibition.

†Recent Accessions Room (Floor I, Room 6).

BULLETIN OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

CLASS	OBJECT	SOURCE
PAINTINGS	*Adoration of the Magi, attributed to Lucas van Leyden, Dutch, 1494-1533.	Bequest of Mrs. Helen L. Bullard, in memory of Harold C. Bullard.
	*The Lost Mind, by Elihu Vedder, American, contemporary.	Bequest of Mrs. Helen L. Bullard, in memory of Laura Curtiss Bullard.
PRINTS, ENGRAVINGS, ETC.	*Prints (13), Japanese.	Purchase.
REPRODUCTIONS.	*Plaster cast of a bronze statuette of the Late Minoan period (about 1500 B. C.).	Purchase.
COSTUMES.	†Blouses (3), child's shirt, apron, scarf, sleeve, and fragment of sleeve top, Hungarian, XIX cent.; blouse, woven towel, and woven tree loom fabric, Roumanian, XIX cent.; bands (2) and cap, Croatian, XIX (?) cent.; wedding sash, Serbian, XIX (?) cent.	Purchase.
	†Virgin's cloak and part of embroidered robe, Spanish, XVII cent.; quilted vest, Swiss, XVIII cent.; embroidered cap, German (Regensburg), XVIII cent.; embroidered kerchief, North German, late XVIII cent.	Gift of Miss Margaret Taylor Johnstone.
LACES.	†Needlepoint laces (2), Spanish, 1600—early XVII cent.; piece of reticello, Italian, XVI cent.; cap, German (Regensburg), XVIII cent.; peasant's cap, Dutch or Belgian, XIX cent.; peasant's caps (3), Brittany, XIX cent.; peasant's cap, Normandy, XIX cent.; peasant's apron, French, XIX cent.	Gift of Miss Margaret Taylor Johnstone.
	*Lace cap, English, XIX cent.	Gift of Mrs. Burrell Hyde.
	*Strip of lace, French (?), XIX cent.	Gift of W. C. Paul.
	†Embroidered cover with drawnwork edge, Philippine Islands, early XIX cent.	Gift of Mrs. William H. Bliss.
ANTIQUITIES—CLASSICAL (Third Classical Room)	Black-figured krater, Athenian, VI cent. B. C.	Lent by Albert Gallatin.
CERAMICS.	*Pieces (21) of porcelain and glazed pottery, Chinese, Han to Ch'ing dyn.	Lent by Owen Roberts.
CRYSTALS, JADES, ETC.	*Book of jade leaves, Ming dyn. (1368-1644); two jade libation cups and jade statuette, Monju on the Lion, Ch'ien-lung period—Chinese.	Lent by Owen Roberts.
METALWORK.	†Brass jamb hooks (2), American, early XIX cent.	Lent by W. Gedney Beatty.
PAINTINGS.	*Paintings (3), Korean, XV cent.; paintings (16), Sung dyn. (960-1280); painting by Chow Meng fu, Yüan dyn. (1280-1368); paintings (4), Ming dyn. (1368-1644),—Chinese.	Lent by Owen Roberts.

*Not yet placed on Exhibition.

†Recent Accessions Room (Floor I, Room 6).

CALENDAR OF LECTURES

NOVEMBER 4—DECEMBER 11, 1921

November	5	Design in the Home (Study-Hours for Members)	Grace Cornell	10:00 A. M.
	5	Composition in Garden Design: XIV-XVII Century	Bremer W. Pond, Harvard University	4:00 P. M.
	6	The Vatican Gallery	Edith R. Abbot	4:00 P. M.
	12	Composition in Garden Design: XVIII-XX Century	Bremer W. Pond	4:00 P. M.
	13	Designing and Making Furniture (Arthur Giller Lecture)	Karl Schmieg	3:00 P. M.
	13	The Louvre	Eliza J. Newkirk, Wellesley College	4:00 P. M.
	19	Homes of the Past (Study-Hours for Members)	J. Monroe Hewlett	10:00 A. M.
	19	Flemish Tapestries (Lecture for the Deaf and Deafened)	Jane B. Walker	3:00 P. M.
	19	The Beginnings of Byzantine Art	Charles R. Morey, Princeton University	4:00 P. M.
	20	El Greco	The Rev. Henry Russell Talbot, Washington Cathedral	4:00 P. M.
	26	The Climax of Byzantine Art	Charles R. Morey	4:00 P. M.
	27	Designing and Making Textiles (Arthur Giller Lecture)	Richard S. Cox, Penn- sylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art	3:00 P. M.
	27	Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel	Edith R. Abbot	4:00 P. M.
December	3	Homes of the Present (Study-Hours for Members)	Mrs. Frederick Lee Ack- erman	10:00 A. M.
	3	Mediaeval Sculpture and the Pilgrimage to Compostella	A. Kingsley Porter, Harvard University	4:00 P. M.
	4	Ingres	Royal Cortissoz	4:00 P. M.
	10	French and Italian Tapestries (Lecture for the Deaf and Deafened)	Jane B. Walker	3:00 P. M.
	10	Romanesque Art in Apulia	A. Kingsley Porter	4:00 P. M.
	11	Some Sources of Design	Walter Sargent, University of Chicago	4:00 P. M.

Gallery Talks for Adults, by Elise P. Carey, each Sunday, beginning November 6, at 3 P. M.; each Saturday, beginning November 5, at 2 P. M.

Story-Hours for Children, by Anna C. Chandler, each Sunday afternoon, at 2 and 3 P. M.; for Children of Members each Saturday morning, beginning November 5, at 10:30 A. M.

Public Schools—Talks for Elementary School Teachers, the second Tuesday of each month by Miss Chandler at 3:30 P. M.; Talks for Classes in High Schools, each Monday by Alice T. Coseo at 4 P. M.; Talks and Demonstrations for Classes in the New York Training School for Teachers, Wednesdays at 3 P. M. by Ethelwyn C. Bradish, Art Director in the Lincoln School of Teachers College; Talks for Students and Instructors in the Vocational School for Boys, each Wednesday by members of the Museum staff at 3 P. M.

Private Schools, talks for pupils, by Edith R. Abbot, on Tuesdays, November 15 and 29, at 2.30 P. M.

Study-Hours on Practical Subjects, by Grace Cornell—For Practical Workers, each Sunday, through December 4, at 3:00 P. M.; for Salespeople, Friday, November 4, at 9:00 A. M.; for Manufacturers and Designers, each Friday, beginning November 11 and ending December 2, at 10:00 A. M.

THE BULLETIN OF THE
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
FIFTH AVENUE AND 82D STREET

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The Museum is open daily from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. (Sunday from 1 P.M. to 6 P.M.); Saturday until 6 P.M.

On Monday and Friday an admission fee of 25 cents is charged to all except members and holders of complimentary tickets.

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For special privileges extended to teachers, pupils, and art students; and for use of the Library, classrooms, study rooms, collection of lantern slides, and Museum collections, see special leaflet.

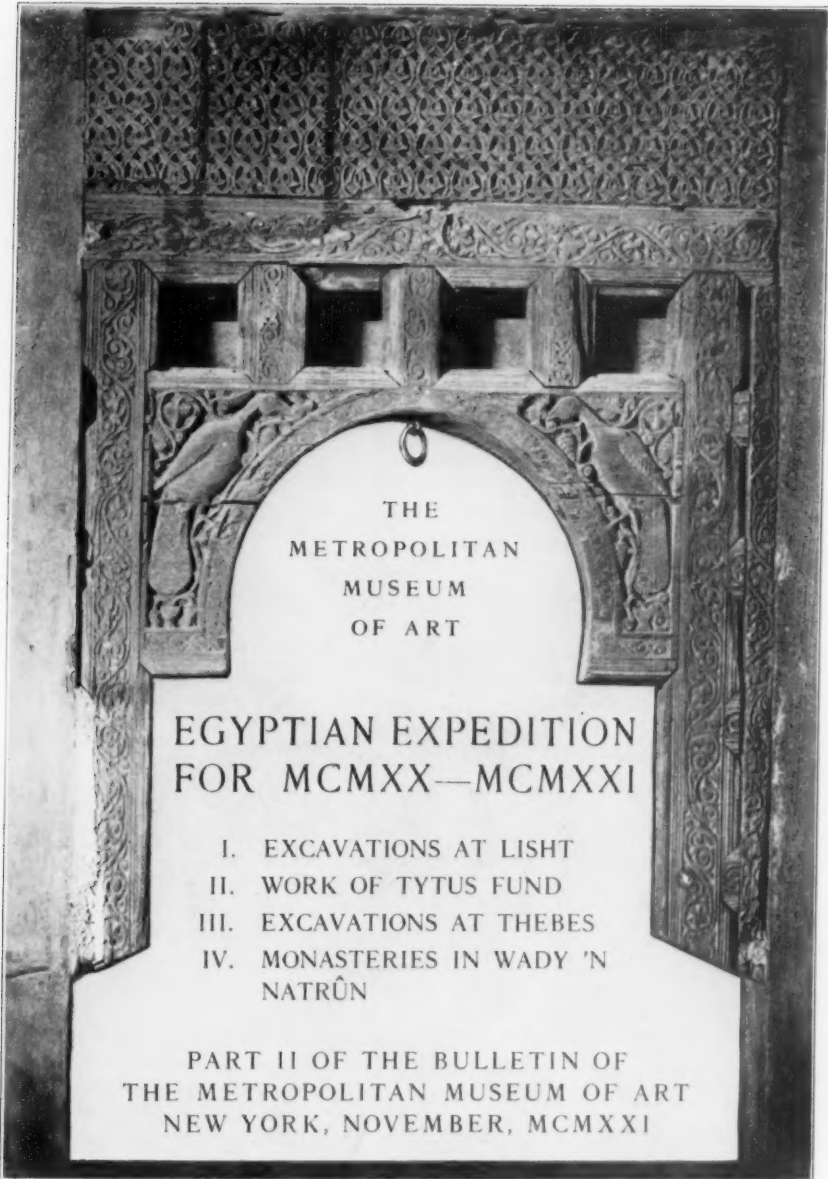
Requests for permits to copy and to photograph in the Museum should be addressed to the Secretary. No permits are necessary for sketching and for taking snapshots with hand cameras. Permits are issued for all days except Saturday afternoons, Sundays, and legal holidays. For further information, see special leaflet.

PUBLICATIONS

CATALOGUES published by the Museum and PHOTOGRAPHS of all objects belonging to the Museum, are on sale at the Fifth Avenue entrance and at the head of the main staircase. Lists will be sent on application. Orders by mail may be addressed to the Secretary.

RESTAURANT

A restaurant located in the basement on the north side of the main building is open from 12 M. to a half hour before closing time.



THE
METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM
OF ART

EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION
FOR MCMXX—MCMXXI

- I. EXCAVATIONS AT LISHT
- II. WORK OF TYTUS FUND
- III. EXCAVATIONS AT THEBES
- IV. MONASTERIES IN WADY 'N
NATRÛN

PART II OF THE BULLETIN OF
THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
NEW YORK, NOVEMBER, MCMXXI

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THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION

1920-1921

NOTE

WITH the past season of 1920-21 the Museum's Expedition in Egypt rounded out fifteen consecutive years of work and, as if to underscore the event, it had the good fortune to achieve results of striking interest. The season was also a noteworthy one in the history of the Expedition through the visit to Egypt of Dr. Edward Robinson, the Director of the Museum, and Mrs. Robinson. In their visits to the excavations at Lisht and Thebes they were enabled to follow the methods and progress of the Expedition's work as a whole, and it was by good fortune again that while they were spending the month of January in the Expedition's headquarters at Thebes the unusually interesting discovery of two royal tombs took place as described in the accompanying report of the work on that site.

The program to be covered by the Expedition in its activities of the year was a broad one, as may be seen from the scope of the accompanying reports, and although plans were laid with certain hopeful possibilities in mind, it proved no exception to the rule in such fields of work that some of these proved disappointing in their outcome while others were successful beyond any usual degree of expectation.

Thus it happened that in resuming the excavation of the Pyramid of Amenemhat I, at Lisht, which had been interrupted during the period of the war, our work of previous years had completed the clearing of three of the four sides of the monument. As the excavation of the debris piled about the base of the pyramid had gone on in earlier years, the hopeful fact had always been before us that the exposure of each side in turn would somewhere bring to light the burial-shafts of the princesses

which must lie within the pyramid-enclosure. With the last remaining side, the western one, as the site of the past season's work, there was the practical certainty of the recovery of these shafts as a definite result of the year, and the contingent possibility that if these had escaped the well-nigh invariable plundering which tombs of so valuable a character suffered during antiquity, a second Dahshur or Lahun treasure might be the reward. That the shafts were found—but empty—is an experience met with too commonly in Egyptian field-work to dampen the ardor of veteran workers, when the total results of excavation on so important a site as Lisht prove an ample offset—as was again the case the past season in the recovery of the many facts and objects of first importance described in the accompanying report.

The excavations on the Museum's concession at Thebes during the past season, while yielding a negative result in respect to certain possibilities on the cemetery of XI dynasty tombs and on the platform of a mortuary-temple begun by one of the Mentuhoteps, furnished a brilliant ending to the season's work in another direction through the recovery of two royal tomb-chambers in the previously excavated temple of Mentuhotep II-III at Deir el Bahri. Aside from the recovery of facts of the highest archaeological importance, the great sarcophagus found in one of these, embellished with sculptured scenes outside and brilliantly painted scenes within, must rank as one of the finest outstanding examples of the art of its period.

In the continuation of the work of the Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Fund, devoted to the copying and publication of the painted tombs at Thebes, many valuable records were gained during the past season through copies and photographs of

additional tombs. At the same time the second and third volumes to be published under the Memorial Fund have been brought to the final stages in their printing, while the preparation for the press of two further volumes is now nearly accomplished.

The past season has also seen the completion by the Expedition of its study of the Monasteries of the Wady 'n Natrûn and their history, upon which reports have been made in previous years, and it is to be hoped that the valuable results obtained,

Museum not unnaturally has found itself in a position of difficulty in maintaining its organization and programs under the existing costs of the various sides of the work. With a limited increase in the annual appropriations for the work which the Trustees of the Museum found it possible to make, a very considerable sum necessary in addition for the work of the past season was generously contributed by Edward S. Harkness, whose liberal contributions to the excavations of earlier years have been



FIG. 1. A HOUSE BUILT AGAINST THE PYRAMID WITH A STAIRWAY LEADING TO AN UPPER LEVEL.

which are now ready for publication, may soon be on the press.

An event of very considerable importance in connection with this study of the monasteries was the recovery by the Expedition, in one of the storerooms of the Monastery of Macarius, of a large number of scattered leaves and fragments of ancient manuscripts, mostly Coptic and Arabic, some of which prove to belong to manuscripts now in various libraries in Europe to which they had found their way in the early part of the last century. The publication of these is looked forward to in the near future in the new series of "Papers" recently established by the Museum.

Under the present-day conditions in the world, the Egyptian Expedition of the

frequently recorded. In the plans for the work of the coming winter of 1921-22, which will have begun by the time this report appears in print, circumstances have rendered it necessary that in order to ensure the fullest possible benefit to the Museum in the upbuilding of its Egyptian collections a more comprehensive program should be adopted than it has ever previously undertaken. In meeting the additional costs of this over any preceding year Mr. Harkness has generously increased his support to cover certain of the new undertakings and it is hoped that the season's fuller program may be successfully carried through without serious curtailment on other sides.

A. M. LYTHGOE.

I. EXCAVATIONS AT LISHT

THE excavation of the pyramid of Amenemhat I, resumed this season after an interval of six years, presents an extraordinary tangle of archaeological problems, and in view of the fact that so much time has elapsed since the last report was published in the *BULLETIN*, it would perhaps be well to take stock of these problems before going on to a detailed account of the present year's work.

early occupation was not a long one, and with its abandonment the site became real desert once more, barren even from the archaeologist's point of view, and so it remained for some fifteen hundred years.

Not until 2000 B. C. does the history of the site really begin. Then it was that Amenemhat I, shifting his capital from Thebes to some point as yet undiscovered near the mouth of the Fayum, the better



FIG. 2. A GROUP OF HOUSES BUILT AGAINST THE SIDE OF THE PYRAMID

The story of the site, briefly, is this. In 3500 B. C., or thereabouts, the ground now covered by Amenemhat's pyramid and temple was occupied by a village or settlement of the semi-nomadic predynastic people. No trace of the actual village remains, but the pottery and fragments of stone vases that we find among the later antiquities are clear proof of its existence. The cemetery in which its inhabitants were buried is still to seek: it lies in all probability under ground now cultivated, for there is evidence that in this particular spot the cultivable area has made considerable inroads upon the old line of desert edge. This

to control the northern end of his newly acquired kingdom, selected this particular spot for his future place of burial, and set on foot the construction of his pyramid. It was an ambitious monument that his architects projected, too ambitious to be carried to completion in the strenuous years that remained to him of his comparatively short reign, and we get as a result the first stumbling-block to the modern excavator of the site, in the shape of a considerable modification of the original plan. The site chosen was not a good one from the builders' point of view, for it sloped rapidly away both eastwards and southwards. As

far as the pyramid itself was concerned, the leveling question was solved without much difficulty by cutting away on the high sides and building up on the low ones; but for the temple and causeway, which had to be constructed on the east side, where the gradient was steepest, the problem would have been much more acute, involving in places foundation chambers at least ten feet deep. We say "would have" advisedly, for the work was never brought to completion, the idea of a temple on the same level as the pyramid being abandoned at

temple which seem at variance with both. The foundation courses of its walls, for instance, are composed largely of reused blocks, many of which bear the cartouches of Amenemhat himself. Amenemhat may have used blocks intended for another building which for some reason were scrapped, but it is curious nevertheless. Still more curious is the fact that when we excavated the temple we found that Amenemhat's granite altar had been carefully removed without the limits of the temple proper and placed in the narrow corridor

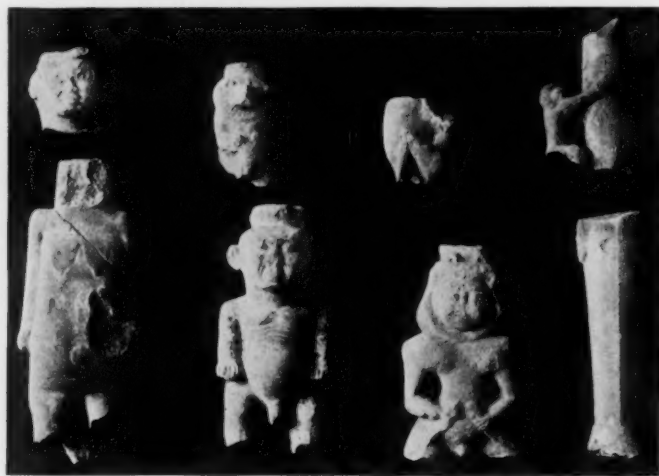


FIG. 3. GROUP OF HOUSEHOLD GODS
VILLAGE PERIOD

some period during the construction in favor of a smaller one on a much lower level.

The responsibility for this change of plan we cannot fix with certainty. It is possible, of course, that Amenemhat himself, feeling his end approaching, and dreading the idea of death with a tomb still uncompleted, instructed his architects to hurry on the work at all costs; or again, and this perhaps is more likely, it may be that he died while the work was still in its early stages, and that his son and successor let filial piety go by the board in his anxiety to make a start on his own monument. Which, if either, of these theories is the correct one we have not at present sufficient evidence to determine. Indeed, there are puzzling points in connection with this low-level

between the north temple wall and the brick enclosure wall, in front of a painfully inadequate false door of limestone; whereas the big granite false door, which to all appearance was made to be used in connection with the altar, was found in front of the entrance to the pyramid, on the north side. One is tempted to believe sometimes that the pyramid and temple were usurped by some later king, and it is very tantalizing that the presence of subterranean water has so far prevented us from getting into the burial chamber, where we might hope to find something conclusive in the way of evidence. At present we have nothing but theory to go upon, and though we have argued the matter at great length and in ever-increasing circles among ourselves and

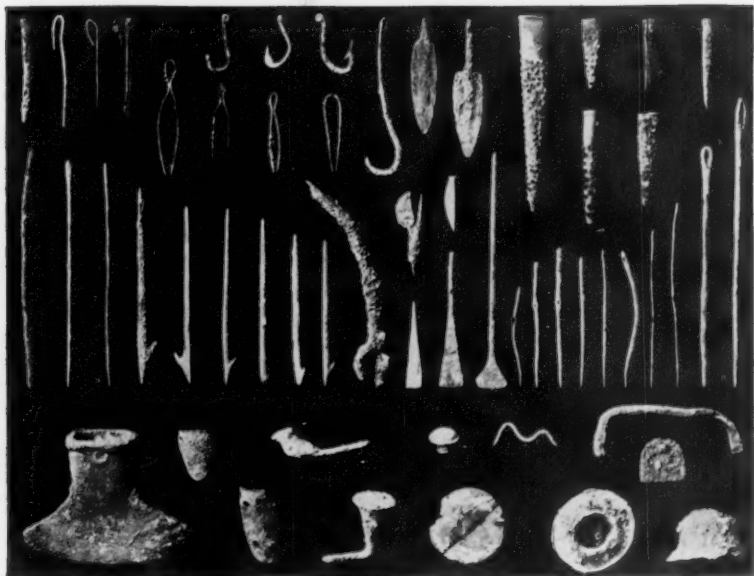


FIG. 4. GROUP OF COPPER IMPLEMENTS
VILLAGE PERIOD

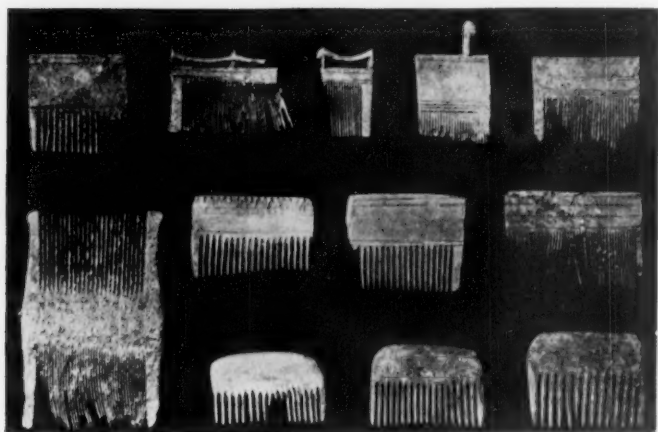


FIG. 5. GROUP OF WOODEN COMBS
VILLAGE PERIOD



FIG. 6. CLEARING DOWN TO XII
DYNASTY LEVEL



FIG. 7. VIEW AT END OF WORK, TAKEN FROM
SOUTHWEST CORNER OF PYRAMID

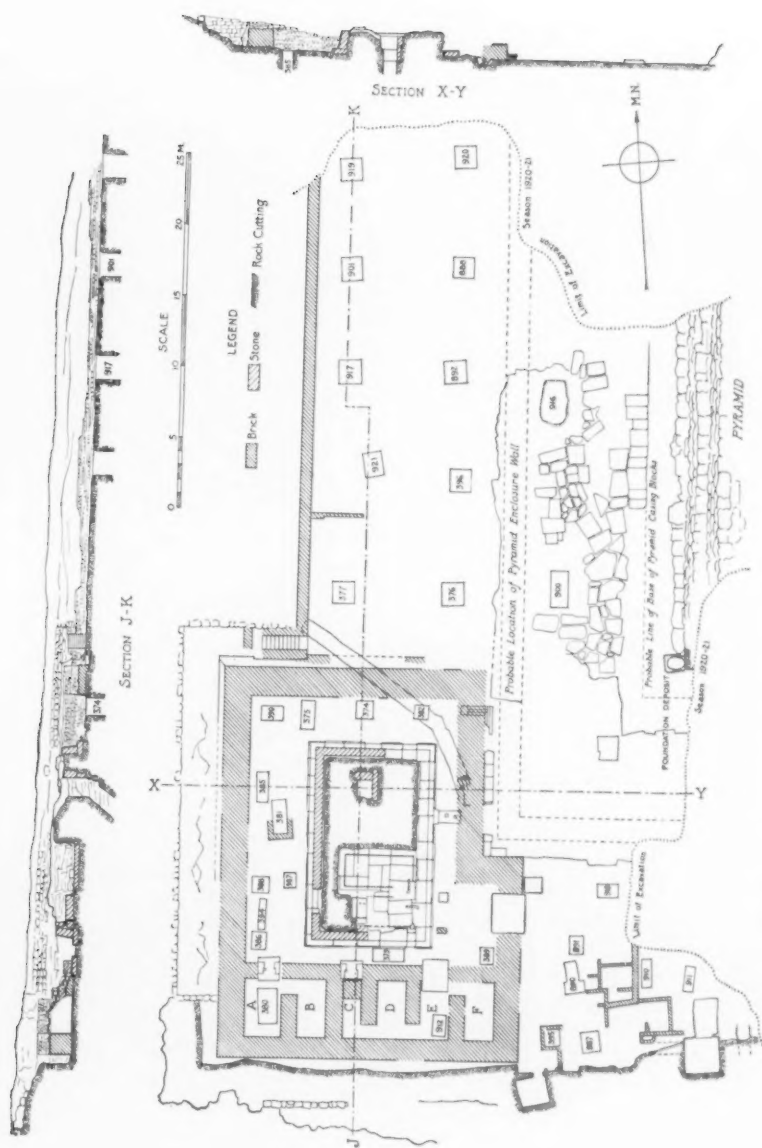


FIG. 8. GROUND PLAN OF EXCAVATION ON WEST SIDE OF PYRAMID
AT XII DYNASTY LEVEL

with visiting archaeologists, there is so far only one conclusion that any two of us have ever managed to agree upon, and that is that the third man's theory is wrong.

In addition to this main problem of the reconstructed temple there are a number of minor complications. One is introduced by the fact that Amenemhat, in the construction of his own monument, had laid heavy toll on those of his predecessors, the core of the pyramid being largely composed of inscribed temple and tomb blocks of the Old Kingdom, stolen presumably

temple of Amenemhat, reused as foundation blocks for the temple; (3) actual temple relief; (4) temple relief copied from Old Kingdom models.

To return to the history of the site, Amenemhat died and was buried, and his successor, Senusert I, after building himself a larger and more magnificent memorial about a mile and a half to southward, in due course followed him. Round the two pyramids sprang up the tomb-superstructures of the courtiers and officials, each as near to the royal monument as its owner



FIG. 9. FOUNDATION DEPOSIT AT SOUTHWEST CORNER OF PYRAMID

from either Dahshur or Sakkara. These early pieces of relief, thrown out of position at the time of the destruction of the pyramid, are found scattered over the whole ground, and they are in some cases extremely difficult to distinguish from the later relief which really belongs to the site. This will be readily understood when we explain that it was Amenemhat's fad, when making his own temple relief, deliberately to revert to the style of his ancestors, and that in some cases he made actual line for line copies of existing Old Kingdom models. We have thus, inextricably mixed and hard to distinguish, the following four groups of relief to deal with: (1) Old Kingdom relief, reused in the construction of the pyramid; (2) relief from the earlier

dared, and in as commanding a position as he could compass: round them again were grouped the graves of their families, their servants, and their descendants, increasing and ever multiplying as one generation succeeded another, till by the end of the XII dynasty the ground within a large radius of either pyramid was literally honeycombed with burial pits. Next came the fall of the dynasty and the ascendancy of a people to whom the name and prestige of the Amenemhats and Senuserts counted as nothing. Straightway plundering began. By the XIV dynasty at latest, any pretense of guarding the necropolis was abandoned, and the site was definitely given over to the tender mercies of the tomb robber and the quarrier. With poetic

justice the pyramid of Amenemhat, itself constructed so largely of stolen blocks, seems to have suffered most. Systematically and thoroughly the destroyers set to work, carrying away its stones for building or burning them up for lime—to such purpose that within two or three hundred years of the king's death it had lost all semblance of pyramidal form, and been reduced to a mere shapeless mound of crumbling stone. A village sprang up

but small heed to the affairs of the outside world. Thothmes and his successor kings might carry war into the far parts of the earth and found and throw away an empire—what did they care? Akhnatōn might change the state religion and decree a new heaven and a new earth—what was that to them and their little village gods? There is nothing in this world quite so conservative as an up-country Egyptian village, and there are many still existing

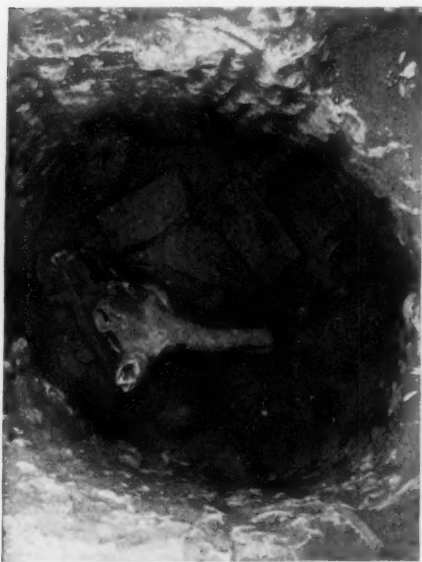


FIG. 10. FOUNDATION DEPOSIT
CLEARED

among the ruins. Possibly a mere group of quarriers' huts to begin with, this village grew to a considerable town, spreading over the whole of the northern end of the site, overlying and cutting into the earlier buildings, and even encroaching terrace-wise on the slopes of the ruined pyramid itself. Poor folk for the most part its inhabitants seem to have been, cultivating their little patches of ground, fishing a little, spinning and weaving a little, glass- and bead-making a little, and in their spare time burrowing for treasure in the burial-pits that underlaid their houses. In no essential did their lives differ from those of their descendants in the modern village, and, like the latter, they probably paid



FIG. 11. BRICK FROM FOUNDATION
DEPOSIT, SHOWING PLAQUE WITHIN

that were founded in the days of the first pyramid-builders. It is difficult, indeed, to see why such a village ever should come to an end. For some reason this one did, after about a thousand years of activity, and with its disappearance the archaeological history of the northern end of the site comes to an end. There were later cemeteries in the southern end, in the neighborhood of Senusert's pyramid, but they do not concern us here. In any case it is quite time to turn to the results of the present year's work.

In the excavations of former years, notes of which have already been published in the *BULLETIN*,¹ we had cleared the

¹April, July, and October, 1907; May and October, 1908; July, 1909; and October, 1914.

whole of the temple area on the east side of the pyramid, had laid bare a considerable part of the northern face of the pyramid, and had devoted the greater part of one season to the cemetery ground to the south. This year our main objective was the western side, on which we had reason to



FIG. 12. BLUE PASTE LION

believe that the tombs of the king's family might be situated. On this side of the pyramid the dumping problem is more acute than usual, for the ground is almost a level plateau. However, by taking advantage of a slight dip, and making a series of



FIG. 13. SERPENTINE STATUETTE

T's at the end of the dump, we succeeded in keeping it within manageable proportions. In the earliest stage of the work, the laying of the railway, only a handful of men could be used, but later on, when the line was in full running order, upwards of three hundred men and boys were steadily employed. Here as everywhere else on this end of the site, we had only to scratch the ground to come on house-walls of the later village, and though they were a nuisance from one

point of view, in that they delayed us from getting right down to the primary object of our search, they did furnish the work with that peculiar note of human interest which tombs, however rich and exciting, must inevitably lack. In figure 2 we have a group of village houses, built, as the photograph shows, right up against the side of the ruined pyramid. Figure 1 gives a view of a single house, the one in the foreground of the large photograph, seen from the entrance. This particular house has a stairway at the side of it, leading either to an upper story or to another house on a higher level of the pyramid slope. Nothing intrinsically valuable was found in any of these houses, but the leavings and losings of a village, even a poor one such as this, are a veritable mine of information when we come to try to work out the details of the daily life of its inhabitants, and we collected an enormous amount of miscellaneous material. See, for example, figure 4, in which are grouped a number of copper tools and other objects—nails, tweezers, fishhooks and harpoons, lance- and arrow-heads, rasps, needles, axe-head, etc.—and figure 5, a group of wooden combs. Flint implements of all varieties were there in great profusion, and, among other classes of material, we may mention spindles, loom-weights, weaving implements and parts of looms, net-sinkers, drill-caps, plumb-bobs, weights, flint-hammers, corn-grinders, parts of lamps, wooden mallets, baskets, and sieves. Occasionally a more unusual object would turn up. Beneath the floor of one house, for instance, there was an enormous lump of glass, about five inches in diameter, and in another house there was a large piece of coral, brought back as a curiosity, presumably, by some seafaring member of its family. In many of the houses there seems to have been a shrine, in which was placed a rough limestone figure of the household god (see fig. 3). The projecting piece of wall in the foreground of figure 2 may very well be a shrine of this nature, and in a house on another part of the site there was a free-standing altar, with the lower half of a limestone stela still in position upon it.

It is unfortunate that so many of these house walls should have to be destroyed; unfortunate but inevitable, as it is the only way to get at the earlier remains that lie beneath them. With them have to go also the brick silos which abound in this, as in other parts of the site, and which add a further complication to a problem that is quite sufficiently involved already. This year they fortunately supplied some new and rather interesting evidence with regard to their use and date. Some of them certainly belong to the houses, being used as

number of loose bones in a small rush bag, and thrown carelessly in among the remains there were large palm-fiber bags in which the parcels had apparently been carried. The individual bones, moreover, were in many cases broken, some were blackened with fire, and others were broken or chopped in half, so that the marrow could be extracted. In these particular silos there were a number of glaze amulets, mostly sacred eyes, which may be XX dynasty in date, but which could not in any case be later than XXII dynasty.



FIG. 14. SERPENTINE STATUETTE ON LIMESTONE TABLE OF OFFERINGS

receptacles for corn, firewood, etc.; others most certainly do not, for their openings are on a different level from that of the houses, and in some cases they deliberately cut through their walls. Among these latter there were three which seemed at first sight to contain the mummied carcasses of sacred rams. Clearing a little farther, however, we discovered that though they might be rams they were neither mummified nor carcasses. Quite the contrary in fact, for there was indisputable evidence that before being buried the animals had been cut up, cooked, and eaten. The heads were wrapped up separately in cloth. The other bones were made up into little mixed parcels, half a jaw-bone, a couple of ribs, and a leg-bone perhaps in one parcel, carefully wrapped round with cloth or palm-fiber. In one case there were a

Clearing, planning, photographing, and noting the silos and village remains took a considerable time, and it was comparatively late in the season before we could get down to XII dynasty level, and decide the great outstanding problem of the season. Were we, or were we not, to find the tombs of the princesses in the place we believed them to be, and if we did, were we to be lucky enough to find in them a treasure comparable with that from Lahun, now in our jewelry room? (To avoid an anticlimax later on it will perhaps be better to make the statement here and now that we did find the princesses' tombs—four of them—but that they had all been cleared out by plunderers.) Figure 6 shows the work of clearing down to the lower level in progress; while 7, from the same point of view, shows the lower level fully cleaned.

We shall get a better idea of the photographs and of the lie of the land generally if we refer to the ground plan in figure 8.² We should notice, first of all, that the whole of this excavated area lay within the cutting that was made to level the ground for the construction of the pyramid. This cutting, shown in hatched outline on the plan, occurs also on the north side of



FIG. 15. GRANITE STATUE OF
MENTUHETEP

the pyramid, and, in conjunction with the built-up platform walls on its south and east sides, serves as a kind of outer enclosure wall to the royal monument. An area such as this should by rights be reserved strictly for the tombs of the king's immediate family, and in our earlier excavations we found that it had in fact been severely respected. What, then, of the large mastaba tomb, of white limestone, that dominates our photograph in figure 7? Its position is significant, but still more so is the fact that its superstructure, instead

²For the sake of clearness the late house walls and silos have been omitted from this plan.

of being built up in the ordinary way, consisted of a solid core of bed-rock, faced round with fine dressed blocks of limestone. Clearly this core was intentionally left at the time that the pyramid cutting was made, and we are forced to the conclusion that the mastaba formed an integral part of the original pyramid plan, and that it was intended for the burial of some close relative of the king. It was not, however, the queen's tomb. That we know for certain, for there were still remaining blocks of relief in the offering chamber, relief which failed, it is true, to give the name of the owner of the tomb, but which showed quite unmistakably that it was a man and not a woman that was being commemorated. There are a number of interesting features of construction in this mastaba, apart from the one already mentioned. At the south end there is an inscribed offering chamber, most of which has unfortunately been broken up by quarriers. The burial pit is cut through the rock core at its northern end, and communicates with the burial chamber by means of a long sloping passage. Underground water unfortunately prevents us from getting into this chamber at present: when we do we shall probably solve the vexed question of ownership. Beneath the corners there were foundation deposits, each one of the four consisting of twenty-four tiny pottery saucers and a tiny pottery pointed vase. Many of the stones of the foundation course were reused temple blocks of the Old Kingdom, confirmatory evidence this that it was the king himself who was responsible for the erection of the tomb. On one of them there was a procession of cattle, with an inscription above each animal showing the name of the Khufu farm to which it belonged. Around the whole tomb proper there was a brick enclosure wall, built close against the sides of the pyramid cutting, with a large entrance gate exactly opposite to the door of the offering chamber. On the south side the whole of the space between this enclosure wall and the stone wall of the mastaba was filled by a series of six vaulted chambers of brick, entered from the mastaba side by means of three limestone-

framed doors. They were probably used as storage places for the ceremonial objects required in the service of the mastaba at the great yearly festivals. Within the enclosure, and just outside at the southeast end, there were a number of burial pits, made presumably for the family and servants; from one of them (No. 379) came the blue paste lion in figure 12. At the north end of the enclosure there are re-

apart, and arranged seemingly in pairs. The first two that we came to (376 and 377) and the four outer ones (921, 917, 901, and 919) were roughly constructed and contained a number of tiny burial chambers, as many as sixteen going to one pit. The other four (396, 892, 888, and 920) were well-cut pits, and each of them gave access, at a depth of about ten meters, to a single large chamber on the pyramid side.

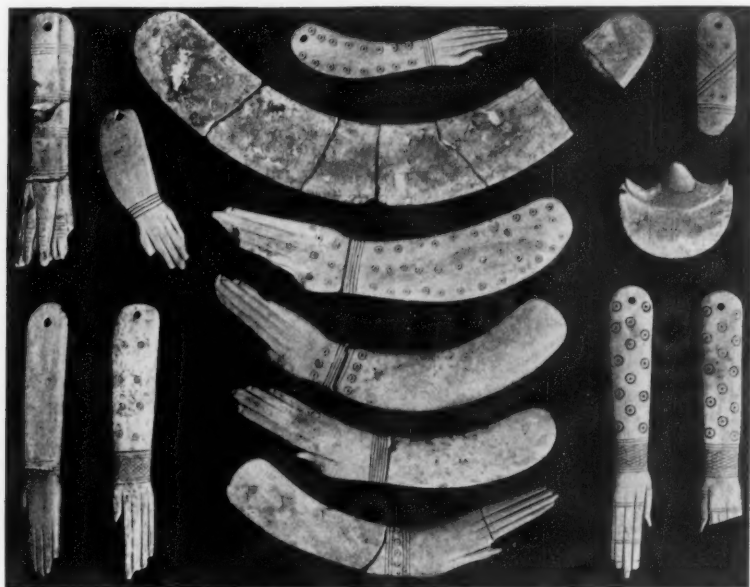


FIG. 16. GROUP OF IVORY WANDS

mains of two independent systems of drainage.

Turning our backs to the mastaba now, and following the course of the excavations to the north, we find, just outside the northwest corner of the enclosure wall, a stairway leading from XII dynasty pavement level to the high ground above the cutting (see also fig. 7). At this point the cutting narrows, and its face is masked, as far to the north as we have yet reached, by a brick retaining wall. Between this retaining wall and what we take to be the line of the inner enclosure wall of the pyramid there is a corridor about fourteen meters wide, in which there are a double row of burial pits, some five or six meters

The chambers were uniform in size and arrangement, and in the floor of each there was a deep recess to accommodate the sarcophagus. There can be very little doubt that these were the actual tombs of the princesses. All were completely plundered out, even to the breaking up and removal of the stone coffins, and the only thing that rewarded our search was a single heavy gold bracelet-bar, of the regular XII dynasty royal type. There are probably more of these tombs that we shall find when we continue our excavations farther north, and in this connection we may extract a certain amount of encouragement from the fact that an underground plunderers' passage has been cut straight

through the rock, to connect all four of this year's burial chambers, and that this passage stops off short in the chamber of Pit 920. The multiple burial pits are curious. The only explanation we can think of is that they were made to accommodate the servants of the princesses, buried near their mistresses to continue their services in the new world. There were two other pits (900 and 916) within the line of the pyramid enclosure wall. These, owing to the poor quality of the

than a chance that it might provide us with some new piece of historical evidence. The hole containing the deposit, oblong at the surface and oval below, was covered by a roughly dressed slab of limestone (see fig. 9), and filled with clean white sand. This cleared away, the actual deposit (fig. 10) was laid bare, consisting of an ox-skull, six roughly shaped bricks of clay, and a mass of small and very badly broken vases and saucers of pottery. Dull and uninteresting enough in all conscience at first



FIG. 17. BACK AND FRONT OF AN IVORY
MAGICAL WAND

rock in which they were excavated, could not be finished without running a serious risk of killing some of our workmen, but we got far enough to see that they too were made for multiple burials. Were they intended for servants of the king himself?

A considerable section of the actual pyramid base was laid bare, and we may mention, as an illustration of the terribly systematic destruction that has taken place, that not a single casing-stone was left. In the course of this clearing we came upon the most interesting archaeological find of the whole season's work—the foundation deposit that lay beneath the southwest corner. Pyramid foundation deposits are rare at the best of times: on the present site, with its bewildering jumble of half-solved problems, such a find had a peculiar importance, for there was more

sight, but in reality very much the reverse, for the bricks, crushed and cracked by the heavy weight that had rested upon them, came to pieces as they were being lifted out of the hole, and revealed the fact that each contained a plaque (fig. 11), inscribed with the name of the king, and, still more important, with that of his pyramid. Two of the plaques had been of copper, two of faience, and two of limestone. Of the last, one was missing, that from the brick on the lowest level nearest to the ox-skull. It could not have been stolen by the workmen, for I did the final clearing myself and lifted everything out of the hole with my own hands. Moreover, the hole in the brick it had occupied was full of hard, tightly packed sand, so hard that it needed scraping with a knife to remove it. The cast of its inscription was clearly visible on the

clay. The brick must have come in half while it was being deposited, and the plaque stolen by the XII dynasty builder.

The inscription on these plaques is interesting. First comes the name of the king, then that of the pyramid, *Isut-kbau*,

In addition to this clearing of the west side we also excavated a considerable area of town and cemetery on the south side of the pyramid, and this we have left ourselves very little space to describe. One of the houses demands special notice, for it

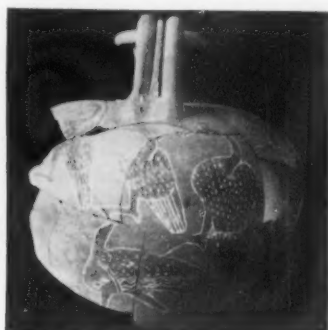
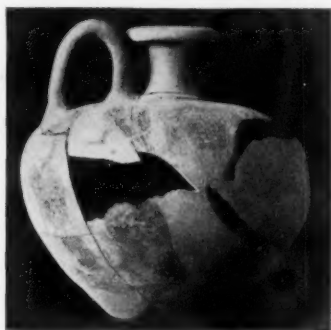


FIG. 18. PAINTED VASE

and finally the pyramid sign as determinative. The curious thing is that we knew, or thought we knew, that the name of this pyramid was *Ka-nefer*. There is a stela in the Louvre dedicated to a man who was priest of the *Ka-nefer* pyramid of Amenem-

had apparently been used as a glaze factory. In one of the rooms there was a large stone sunk in the floor which had evidently been used as a kneading place for the powdered limestone and water which formed the basis of the object to be



FIG. 19. LIMESTONE WEIGHT WITH TITULARY OF SENUSERT I

hat, and Sinuhe, in the story of his life, tells us that he acted as "Guardian of the King's Harim" in the pyramid city of *Ka-nefer*. How are these facts to be reconciled? Was our new name the name of the pyramid proper, whereas *Ka-nefer* was that of the whole pyramid district? Or does the name *Isut-kbau* belong to the foundation deposits themselves? Another puzzle to add to our lengthening list. The form of the name, which may be translated "The places of the appearances (or risings) of Amenemhat," is strange, and unlike that of any other pyramid.

glazed. In an adjoining room there was a kiln, unfortunately in very bad state of preservation; and, scattered all over the house and for a considerable distance outside it, there was an enormous amount of "biscuit," some quite rough and some more or less shaped, several sandstone rubbers, thousands of beads, and a quantity of other miscellaneous material.

Upwards of a hundred XII dynasty burial shafts were cleared, all anciently plundered, but whereas in some cases they had been stripped to the last bead, in others there still remained a considerable amount

of valuable material. In one was found the small serpentine statuette in figure 13, and in another a similar statuette, set into a limestone table of offerings (fig. 14). In another pit no less than eight whole or broken statues and statuettes were found, among them the granite statue of Mentu-

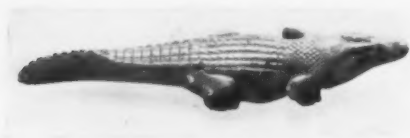


FIG. 20. IVORY CROCODILE

hetep in figure 15. It is hardly likely that these can all have belonged to the shaft in which they were found, especially as one of them was of the rough limestone village-god type. They must have been collected and deposited by some zealous person anciently. Ivory wands, both plain and inscribed, were exceedingly common in this group of pits, those shown in figure 16



FIG. 21. IVORY LION

all coming from a single shaft. Several were inscribed with beautifully cut figures of mysterious animals, such as the one shown in figure 17. There can be no doubt that wands such as these were amuletic in character, made to protect their owner from the fearsome creatures that he expected to encounter in his journey through the underworld. A particularly charming piece of ivory carving is the erect lion in figure 21, and in figure 20 we have a crocodile in the same material, so lifelike

that you feel he must surely swish his tail if you only watch long enough. The pottery vase in figure 18, A and B, is distinctly new in type, and must either be a foreign importation or have been made under foreign influence. It is a light yellowish pink in color, with a decoration of birds and dolphins (?) in dark red outlined with white, another curious feature about it being the fact that the handle drops to the shoulder again, instead of attaching itself to the rim. In the same pit there were a number of black incised handled vases of the Kahun type. Such were some of the finer objects from the pits: with the general mass of miscellaneous material from them—much of it very interesting—we have no space here to deal. It is surprising, in view of the repeated plunderings that they have undergone, that the pits should still produce so much, and imagination runs riot at the thought of what the original burials must have contained. Some day, at least we like to think so, we shall find a pit of this type that has never been plundered, with everything in position and nothing damaged, and then—

There is still a group of material that we have not yet mentioned, and which will be a source of considerable difficulty when we come to publish a full account of the work, consisting of objects which might belong equally well to the later pits of the cemetery or the earlier end of the town. Position counts for very little on this site. The finest scarab of the whole season was found on clean desert surface by a loitering basket-boy, and it was by no means uncommon to find undoubted town material deep down in the filling of a burial shaft, or even in the chamber. Among these casual finds, as we may call them, there are three that need special mention—a limestone weight (fig. 19), all four of whose sides were inscribed with the name and titles of one of the Senuserts, probably the First; a slip of ivory inlay from a box, dedicated in inlaid hieroglyphs of carnelian to King Khety of the IX dynasty; and the lower part of a glazed tile, with a cartouche of King Khenzer. The occurrence of these two kings on the Lisht site is interesting. With the exception of the predynastic

settlement material mentioned at the beginning of this article, this Khety box is the only pre-XII dynasty object that has yet been found, and it is very curious that the exception should belong to a king who was the hereditary enemy of the Theban house from which Amenemhat sprang. The presence of Khenzer at Lisht should help to settle his somewhat doubtful place in history. Some would place him among the Hyksos, but at Lisht we have not found a single Hyksos cartouche, whereas XIII dynasty names are comparatively common.

Our working staff consisted of Lindsley F. Hall, Albert B. Nixon, and myself. Mr. Hall was primarily responsible for survey and drawing—we owe figures 8 and 17 to his pen—and Mr. Nixon for account keeping and general secretarial work; but in camp a specialist can only specialize in his odd moments, and both took a hand in the thousand and one odd jobs—sorting, mending, cataloguing, packing, carpentering, workmen-physicking, and the like—that play so large a part in the archaeologist's daily round. A. C. MACE.

II. THE WORK OF THE TYTUS MEMORIAL FUND

THE tomb of Neferhotpë (No. 49) is now one of the darkest, the dirtiest, and the most disheartening among its many competitors at Thebes, black with smoke, festooned in cobwebs, stripped of its paintings over large parts of its surface, overlaid with a tenacious layer of plaster in others. Only here and there charming or perplexing designs shimmer through the dirt when light can be thrown in on the gloom.

Extra annoyance was added to these difficulties. The native occupants of the tomb were induced some years back by moral (?) suasion to retire outside the entrance, but had prospered there exceedingly and amounted now to man, wife, four or five children, a cow, four goats, eight sheep, a dog and a cat, half a hundred poultry, and billions of flies, etc. (the etc. not being negligible). Aghast at the prospect of being included in this menagerie, and using similar suasion again, I proposed to the man that he should be bought out. "Certainly," he agreed, "so far as I am concerned, but—ware the women-folk." This was clearly the ruse of an over-borne man, since his wife was meek-looking. So I returned next day with a light heart. I found the courtyard (fig. 1) a black mass of vociferating, gesticulating, furious females. These were the reversionary heiresses of the late owner assembled to see that no profit accrued to the solitary male heir in which they did not share, and that the particular lair which was associated with memories of their

father did not pass into infidel hands. Promptly relinquishing purchase, we pleaded for a month's lease of a few cubic meters of air and freedom from the family. Frantic opposition to this was finally overcome in a masterly way. Hurling the most voluble heiress violently against a wall, the owner concluded the bargain before her breath could amount to a caveat. Henceforward there was peace, but for the pathetic efforts of the crushed lady to build a high wall round the spot where the sainted man used to repose, and for the two potent agencies, flies and smells. Time in Egypt is nothing but an ineffective concept. The family *aura* left in the interior was vigorous enough after twenty years to render existence insupportable except to indurated senses. And, if flies in Egypt multiply timelessly by logarithms, those in Tomb 49 outdid their race in fecundity.

This apparently irrelevant prologue explains why the tomb has not been copied since fellahin dug themselves in, and may give an aspect of heroism to the enterprise of the Metropolitan Museum (heroism by proxy), exploding the idea that it consists of making aesthetic studies in the field or the library. It will serviceably remind us, too, that these same fellahin are the legitimate descendants, physical and otherwise, of the men and women whose figures, houses, occupations, merry makings, and funerals are depicted within.

The date of the tomb is half its interest.

It belongs to the brief period when Egypt, and above all Thebes in Egypt, was just recovering from the rudest shock it had ever felt, the shock of finding a boy on its throne who did not believe in its religion, or, worse still, only believed what was true in it, and who, withdrawing his court into the wilderness, had the arrogance to be happy there, leaving Thebes nothing but its ruins. This shock was now over. The hare-brained boy was dead and his movement little less so. His children had made

the artists were allowed to slip back to Thebes and gain merited influence there. That influence, joined to the prevailing tendency at Thebes, had as its ultimate resultant the Ramesseid style. But for the moment it was still fairly pure. Two important tombs of this period are known, both showing a modicum of worldly subjects which suited the revolutionary style, though the distressing condition of their scenes makes a true appreciation difficult. That of Huy (No. 40) shows the influence



FIG. 1. COURTYARD OF TOMB OF NEFERHOTEP

haste to recant. The court was back at Thebes. The names of the old gods had been recut on the walls. Women were once more relegated to their proper place (or were wise enough to let men think so). But neither state religions nor state proprieties touch the heart of life. Art may; and, as it had perhaps given the earliest and plainest prophecy of impending change, it now retained its heresies more stubbornly than elsewhere, though forced outwardly to conform to priestly essentials. It seems as if the art-schools of Thebes had been utterly ruined by the upheaval or had lost the best of their younger men to the new movement, and that in the vengeance taken on the traitor-king and his adherents

least and in its poorer forms. The other is that of our Neferhotep, chief scribe and overseer of the cattle of Amon in the reign of Ay.

Its scenes, though of course conforming to the restored religion, show a marked individuality and are quite plainly by the hand of one having the training and spirit of the schools of El Amarna, though they are not quite paralleled there. They might even be cited as among the chief works of the unorthodox movement, though subsequent to its failure; or as giving the best proofs of its power, because shorn of its worst eccentricities while retaining much of the free movement, strong characterization, human interest, and soft coloring of the period.

The subjects treated are also a compromise between the two eras. The narration of the king's generosity to his loyal official is twice repeated, and while the burial scene, contrary to ancient rule, is portrayed in the outer hall, its place in the inner room is, as a reprisal, occupied by an

secured for it. The rock-pillars of the inner room are decorated with commonplace pictures of the worship of the gods.

The merit of the paintings, apart from the welcome choice of subject, cannot be conveyed by line drawings, as it lies in delicate outlines, fine detail, and restrained

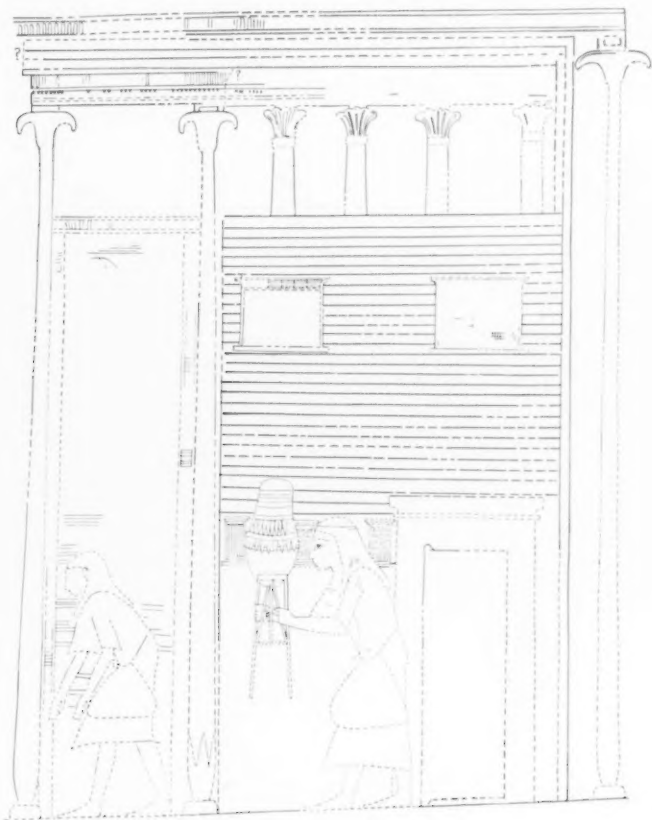


FIG. 2

extensive scene showing the broad estates of Neferhotpē (or those of Amon in his charge), rich in cattle, vineyards, gardens, and papyrus pools, as also in magazines, workshops, kitchens, and serfs to work in them. A thank-offering for this wealth is being brought by the family, who cross the river in ships to present it in the temple of Amon on the east bank. The full treatment of this mundane subject we owe perhaps to the cover which the darkness

coloration, one or all of which have everywhere suffered severely.¹

The picture of the king's reward to Neferhotpē contains some attractive detail. On the right (beyond fig. 2) the king and queen lean from the palace window to be-

¹Guided sometimes by earlier copies, I have ventured to indicate by broken lines how the lacking parts might be restored. For published copies see Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*, I, pp. 359, 366; III, Pl. LXVII and Erman's *Ägypten*, p. 250.

stow gifts on our hero. As soon as he is dismissed he enters his waiting chariot and drives off at a gallop to show his honors to his wife and children, who have themselves been entering fully into the events of the day elsewhere. A house in this connection (fig. 2) involves us in a crucial problem. It is not only that the Egyptian draughtsman drew for those who knew well what a house of their time was like, so that he needed only to be careful about detail, ignoring or travestying the main outlines. In addition, we have lost some

to reconcile with anything else. We should then have the same scene as in the Tomb of Ay at El Amarna, except that there the couple attend together instead of separately. Thus this would represent the Theban palace of the same (?) Ay, now king, freed from the traditional mode of drawing it, or showing a building which combined in a novel way the new architecture and the old. Husband and wife, having received their gifts in the harim and the selamluk of the palace respectively (only a wall with a door in it separates the gar-

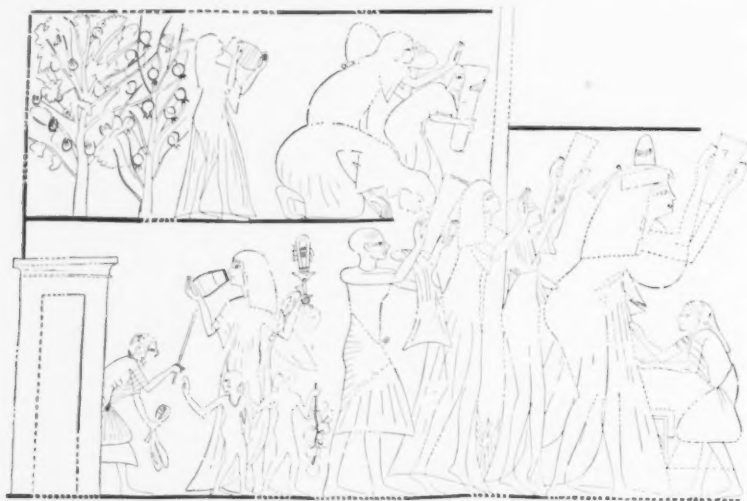


FIG. 3

features that might have linked it decisively to pictures of the palace at El Amarna. On the other hand, it has close resemblances to the Theban mansions; small windows, e. g., are always indicated in private houses, but never in the palace, though, of course, it is likely that there was only a difference of size and luxury in the latter. Is this, then, meant for the royal palace or for a private house? Did the space above the servant between the columns show only a fellow-servant, or did it exhibit the large window, and frame the king or queen once more leaning down to bestow gifts? For the attitude of the lady, Meritrê, and her attendants is exactly that of favored persons honored by royalty, and the prostrate servant outside (fig. 3) is hard

dens of the two establishments), go forth to meet and congratulate one another. If, on the other hand, we take this to be Neferhotpê's house, the interpretation must be that while her husband is away having audience with the king, Meritrê comes from her separate (?) quarters, or from the garden where she has been making bouquets and busies herself in giving orders to the servants and seeing that a generous provision is made for the banquet inevitable on the occasion. (I regret to say that one of the ladies—perhaps that one in the rear—took advantage of this hospitality later on to imbibe too much, and cut a very lamentable figure in consequence.) Having done so and been attired in her best, she goes forth on the arm of

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FIG. 4



FIG. 5

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her major-domo or a male relative to meet her lord (fig. 4). One may hesitate long over this hermeneutical problem. The action certainly fits the palace theory much better, but on the other hand it is somewhat bold to conjure up a queen of whom there is no trace, for whose action there is no parallel, and who is elsewhere shown at the king's side being gracious to Nefer-hotpĕ. Moreover, the private house of the official is often shown in such scenes.²

The theme is perhaps of more interest than the execution in the present state of the picture, but both are typical of the Akhnatōn period. The subject might occur a little earlier, as the scene in Tomb 90 warns us, but not this treatment and this composition; involved groups would

element to which the art of El Amarna paid such a tribute has not lost much ground by the counter-revolution, notably in the acknowledgment of the complexity and curves of women's dress and orna-

ments. Art still feigned that women appeared in public in charge of their husbands and under a strict code of behavior and dress, though this had probably gone by the board long since under the growth of urban life, order, and luxury. The picture of Meritrê running through the house to decorate it and keeping the servants in a bustle (or, on the

other theory, attending alone to receive recognition of her part in her husband's success) brings the new order of things into the province of art, and her changed



FIG. 6



FIG. 7

then have been impossible, for *crowding* was deemed incompatible with dignified art until the reign of Akhnatōn's father, at any rate.³ One feels, too, that the feminine

²In Tombs 80, 90, 217, and once or twice at El Amarna.

³Compare, e. g., the appended reception of a promoted priest by his womenkind a reign earlier (fig. 5).

attitude when the approach of the chariot is heard and she goes out a proud, if mature, beauty, as conscious of her worth as when she crossed her husband's then modest threshold for the first time, may be full of restrained sentiment. There seems to be a touch of humor too; for it is always the last of the group that lags behind to quaff with averted head

from the jar which should have reached the house without loss and the porter seems to be threatening with his staff the impudent children who in bad company have learnt bad manners. The affected, self-conscious posture of the lady as she stoops to allow a servant to adorn, arrange, or scent her dress is in strong contrast

temper when attentions are shown him by one of the young women.

Figure 2 shows only the house proper. It lay under a broad roof supported on two columns, the right-hand one of which is seen in figure 2. The two others may perhaps be added to these, making a portico supported on four columns along the front.



FIG. 8. ROCK-CUT STATUES, TOMB OF NEFERHOTPĖ

with the over-elongation of the figures of the girls who keep bounding in the air from the toes and working up a ravishing excitement. There is a very promising attempt to give portraiture or character to the face of the youth, but, if so, the artist shows imperfect control of this new gift; for in the one case he wears as distinctly an elderly as in the other a youthful appearance, and it is too unsophisticated an age to attribute the change to a youth's disgust at enforced attendance on women at a social function and the recovery of his

The narrow part of the house between the two columns is, I imagine, the frontage, or the central part of it which contains the distinctive features. The lower part is painted with bright bands of color. The upper may have contained a large open window such as palaces show. If so, this belonged to a second story. With the broader part we have changed to the side aspect, at least as regards the upper, barred part, where the small grated windows would be in place. The bars (red lines on yellow) must imply painted decoration on

a plastered surface; for long planks are as impossible as undesirable in Egypt.⁴ The door one would expect to be on the frontage. Windows on a ground floor are unique and may point to increasing security. Was there also an open loggia as a third story, as the four short columns under the roof suggest? It seems to be more likely that this was not the case, but that, in the type of building which Akhnatôn had introduced, the walls of the second story were not carried up to the roof, this being supported on columns instead, at any rate on

ing a problem whose solution is besprinkled with interrogation marks, it is calculated to induce despair, or contempt of any such discussions, when the real remedy is the careful collection and comparison of further material, and a cessation of the destruction and neglect of surviving items of knowledge—the distinctive missions, in short, of our Egyptian Expedition.

From the funeral scene two excerpts may be given. One (fig. 7) is a group of mourning women for comparison with the treatment of the same subject in the earlier

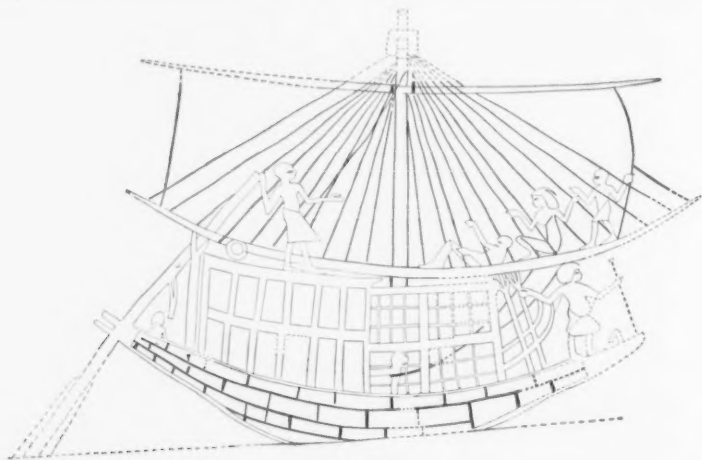


FIG. 9

the frontage. The larger modern houses at Kurneh are often so built that the upper story is a pretense, being in fact a terrace inclosed by walls but open to the sky, where the women can take the air in all privacy. Akhnatôn's device is superior in that it afforded both air and shelter. The edifice, then, seems clearly modeled on the palace at El Amarna. It is strange if that novel building, which found no imitators in its neighborhood, caused sufficient stir at Thebes to induce the rich to imitate it there. Thus, after all, this detailed picture of an Egyptian house, it must be confessed, is, like many of its fellows, not much better than a hieroglyphic sign of indeterminate value, only the general meaning of which can at present be surmised by us. Present-

⁴For similar treatment of a house see Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, I, p. 377.

tomb, No. 181.⁵ The result is somewhat disappointing. Our post-revolutionary picture is much less effective than the earlier one. There the crowd of women in their sorrow are careless of appearance, or of jostling and incommoding one another by their wild gesticulations. Here only two or three of the older women show grief in their faces; the others mechanically pour dust on their heads from a dustless floor, and the artist has arranged them carefully, stringing them out in line, almost as in the good old days. It may be that he was less talented or merely that funerals had not been a subject in vogue in the new capital. Or we can hear him growling, "A funeral scene in the front hall! O you gloomy priests! Well, I suppose it must be, but—it shall be commonplace!"

⁵BULLETIN, M.M.A., Dec., 1920, Part II, p. 33.

In another group (fig. 6) there is less shrinking from the confusion natural in such conditions. These women are either the poor relations who have had to drag their encumbrances with them to the

happy acceptance of things as they are which seems the distinctive note of the religion and art of the Aton. This group is now scarcely to be deciphered and is cited here only for the subject and grouping. The



FIG. 10. WALL RELIEF, TOMB OF NEFERHOTEP

funeral, or the nurse girls of the mourning ladies. Each has a child slung in the cloak at her breast, riding on her back or her side, or toddling behind. The women are well girt up, for they have just had to wade ashore from the boats. The recognition of the burden as well as the brightness of babyhood is perhaps a survival of that

older art went on the assumption that only negresses and slaves bore babies, since older children only could be relied upon to preserve the decorum of ladies in public; whereas an official of Amenhotep III lets himself be seen with three naked children on his knee at once (Akhnaton being one of them, who thus did as a

father only as he had been done by in early years).

The growing traffic of Egypt with Syria and more remote lands oversea must have led to a large increase both in sea and river craft, especially in times of peace. They are introduced therefore more liberally in tombs of this period.⁶ Several passenger vessels are shown in our tomb, one of which is reproduced here (fig. 9). Two men or boys are skylarking in the rigging. They have even tempted a young woman to join them, and the captain seems to be rebuking their behavior. The boat contains a cabin, half-inclosed, half-open, provided with a couch, though this is being used at the moment as a cleat to which to make fast the sheets. The tusk-like poles in front are probably handrails for use in going below.

The dignified figures of the occupant and his wife going in and out in the entrance (fig. 10), and their lifelike, if stiff, statues resting on chairs on a dais in the far recesses of the tomb (fig. 8), both witness how little variation of form there was in these essential elements of tomb decoration, though a good deal of difference in merit of execution. Cut in the round in poorish rock, the

⁶In Tombs 40, 57, 93, 217, and that of Mery at El Amarna.

statues might be of almost any period within reason; but the sunk reliefs are excellent, and recall the best years just before the revolution, the best work of it (minus its little affectations), or the best sculptures after it (plus rather more conscientiousness and delicacy). The texts in the tomb, it may be said, are full of reminiscences of those at El Amarna.

The flies and dirt in the tomb of Neferhotpē being so very deterrent, it will probably be heard of again in the annual reports of the labors of our Expedition. I owe the photographs to H. Burton's painstaking skill. Charles Kyrle Wilkinson and my wife also have been associated with me in this season's work, so that a goodly number of colored copies have been added to the records of the Museum. The former especially might tell a tale of pictures secured under every disability and discomfort. Figure 11 is a specimen of his salvage work in the Tomb of Senozem (No. 1), the picture lying in total darkness and being threatened with destruction. It is a good specimen of the mythological subjects, illustrating the spells of the Book of the Dead, which form so large a part of the subject matter of the decoration of tombs from the period of Neferhotpē onwards.

N. DE GARIS DAVIES.

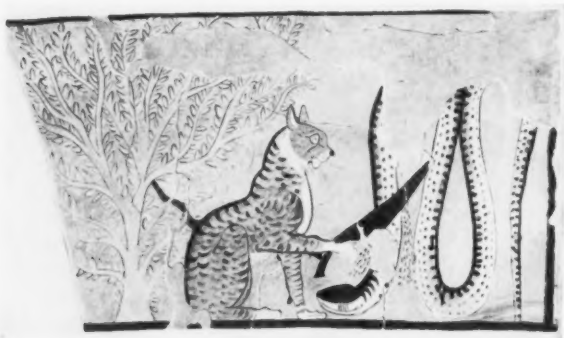


FIG. 11

III. EXCAVATIONS AT THEBES

AFTER the unusual strokes of luck that brought to the Museum the mummy of the Prince Amenemhet in the spring of 1919 and the models of Mehenkwtetre¹ in 1920, it was only human that we should go back to the same neighborhood for our excavations in Thebes last winter. We talked it over in the field during the last days of the work on the tomb of Mehenkwtetre¹ and we canvassed the chances again in New York before returning to Egypt until all of us were in pretty close agreement that the same desert valley should be tried at least one more season. Our plans were definite enough, but the unexpected turns of an excavator's life once more gave us a surprise. A more or less idle conversation while the Arab boys gathered up the surveying instruments one day was the apparently meaningless start that led to another find, outside of all our plans. But it will be better to let the story unfold itself for the reader in the way that it did for us.

The little valley where we had worked for the past two seasons and where we planned to dig again, is a weirdly romantic place even for Thebes (fig. 1). In the season the tourists, either by twos and threes or in the big, conducted parties with their crowds of galloping little donkeys and lines of creaking carriages, with their clouds of dust and their yelling donkey boys, pass it by unnoticed as they swarm in an invading horde to the temples of Deir el Bahri and Deir el Medineh or to the tombs of Sheikh Abd el Kurneh. The natives have little reason to visit it, and year after year a fox or two coming down to the green fields just before sunset or a passing guard are the only creatures to see its desolation. Curiously enough, even in the days of Thebes it was deserted although all around it the hills teemed with the life which paradoxically inhabited the city of the dead—the priests and caretakers, the builders and artists, and the mourners and thieves who infested the tombs. Once only did the valley itself share to any

extent in this life and that was four thousand years ago.

Chancing to ride through the little valley one afternoon in the spring of 1914 I stumbled on a clue to its history. The winds and the rare cloudbursts of the Theban hills through forty centuries had been giving the place its desert look, but down in the bottom of the valley at the foot of the towering cliffs, there was still to be seen a flat, rocky platform and leading up to it a sloping embankment that could be traced with more or less certainty along the hillsides to the green fields of the cultivation near the Ramesseum (fig. 2). Around the rim of the valley the gaping mouths of tombs looked down upon the platform and when one crawled into them—to the consternation of the swarms of bats who had long found undisturbed sanctuary in their gloom—every tomb turned out to be of the type we were learning to recognize as of the XI dynasty.

The desert valley had put to us a new problem of an almost forgotten corner of the XI dynasty cemeteries. To judge its true significance, stock had first to be taken of our knowledge of the period. A few more rides around the necropolis, a little delving into the work of previous archaeologists—even those who dug more than sixty years ago—and the following historical outline was drawn up to guide us.

The founders of the XI dynasty were a family of insurgents who carved out a little kingdom of their own around Thebes. Since their revenues were not large, their tombs on the desert plain opposite Karnak were never very imposing. Eventually, one of their number, a certain Mentuhotep, gave the death blow to the tottering kingdom of the North and with his increased riches was able to start a monument at Deir el Bahri in keeping with his increased importance. His successor continued it, and between them they built the tomb-temple under the cliffs, which Professor Naville discovered in 1903, and leading up to it from the cultivation through the valley

of the Assasif the causeway which we found in 1913 (fig. 1). The surrounding hillsides they parceled out among their courtiers, each of whom built a tomb that faced upon the avenue. So far the burial places

to the Deir el Bahri tomb-temple just referred to; the flat platform under the cliffs was just what would be expected as the foundation for such a mortuary temple, and we had even the tombs of the

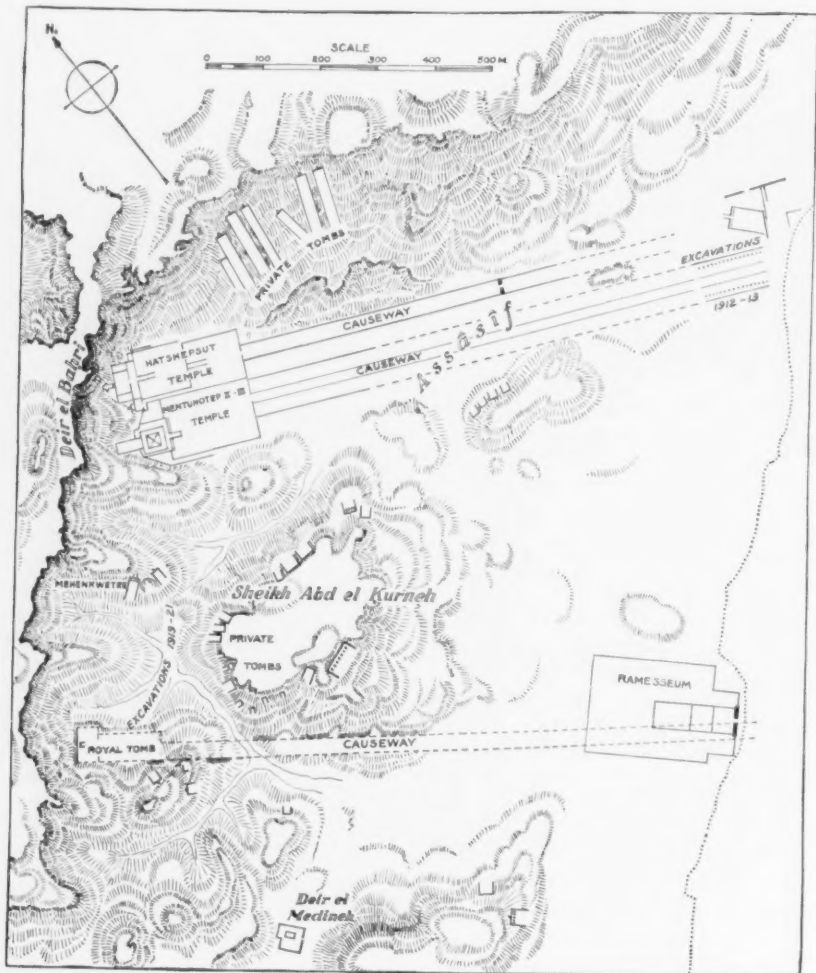


FIG. 1. SKETCH MAP OF THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS

of five kings and their nobles could be accounted for, but the ancient chronicles listed seven kings in the dynasty. Evidently the tomb of one or both of the remaining two must have been in the deserted valley with which this story begins, for the embankment along the hillsides could be nothing but an avenue like that leading

contemporary nobles looking down from the surrounding hillsides.

When we first noticed the place it was outside of our concession and we had to get our boundary lines extended to include it. However, that was arranged and winter before last we began with the largest of the tombs of the courtiers, hoping

to find some historical inscription of the period. The tomb was that of Mehenk-
wetre' and his funerary models were our
unexpected reward. A field that yielded

story dragged interminably, especially for
those of us who were characters in it. The
first phase of our work was to finish the
tombs of the courtiers. We began beside



FIG. 2. LOOKING DOWN FROM THE CLIFFS, OVER THE PLATFORM AND
THE CAUSEWAY EMBANKMENTS, TO THE RAMESSEUM ON THE
EDGE OF THE FIELDS IN THE DISTANCE. TAKEN AT
THE END OF THE EXCAVATIONS WITH THE
ROYAL TOMB IN THE RIGHT FORE-
GROUND AND THE RUINS OF THE
HOUSE TO THE LEFT

such a prize and that held out tempting
hopes of a royal tomb besides, was well
worth going on with.

Unfortunately the first chapters of our

the tomb of Mehenk-
wetre' because we were
certain that under the tumbled piles of
rock and sand from the cliff there was an-
other tomb. We were quite right, but

when the men got the entrance cleared out we found that it had never been finished and that it was absolutely empty. The gang was moved along the hillside to another tomb that stood open as had the tomb of Mehenkwetre'. The first few days were unexciting and then suddenly some of the men clearing the floor of the court in front found that the rock was cut vertically downwards. The mouth of an enormous pit showed up filled with clean white chips of limestone that had evidently been there undisturbed since the XI dynasty. The workmen realized well enough what that might mean, and even from our house we could see how they kept the basket boys on the run all day long, throwing the clattering chips of stone over the cliff. That night five of the men slept on the spot, and all of us studiously avoided letting our conversation get too optimistic for fear of tempting Providence. We must have done it though, because as I went out to the work in the morning I could see from away off the basket boys despondently dawdling along and no more white chips coming over the cliff. The pit had never been finished, and the five guards had spent the night watching over a dozen basket-loads of chipped stone that had hidden the fact from us the night before. The tomb itself yielded us the name of its XI dynasty owner—The Steward of the Inner Palace Sianhur—and some shawabti figures of a queen of a much later period, but that was all. In the course of the season we explored all of the hillside tombs looking down on the platform, but more than half were unfinished and all the rest had been thoroughly plundered.

The real objective, however, was the platform itself, and for this phase of the work we were already getting ready. Basing our theories on a study of the Mentuhotep temple at Deir el Bahri which Naville had cleared, we reasoned that the sloping avenue should lead to a large courtyard and at the back of this, upon the platform, there should be a temple with a royal tomb in the rear. At least this would be the plan of the completed structure. When I first found it in 1914 I realized that it had probably never been finished and our

excavations had already shown that the surrounding tombs had often been left incomplete. This fitted very well with what we expected, for the capital of Egypt was moved to Lisht at the end of the XI dynasty and the unfinished monuments at Thebes would naturally have been left just as they stood when the move was made. Still, though the temple might not have been finished, there was a reasonable chance that the tomb had been prepared for its royal occupant. One of the two kings who might have been this occupant, Mentuhotep IV, had left a remarkable series of inscriptions in the granite quarries of the far distant Wady Hammamat to tell posterity of the marvels that happened while his workmen were quarrying out his sarcophagus there, and this sarcophagus was what we hoped to find.

As a guide in the excavation of the site an accurate survey was started. From the rock cuttings Hauser was able to establish the causeway axis, to survey it with a transit up to the platform, and mark it on the surface by pegs. This we took for the center line of the whole monument, on which we expected to find the royal tomb itself. Our hopes went up immediately. Some years before, Robert Mond had dug on the site and had found a tomb of the XI dynasty type but instead of its tunnel being five hundred feet long like the royal tomb at Deir el Bahri it was scarcely seventy, and the chamber was built of limestone in place of granite. Hauser's survey now showed that it was considerably to one side of the axis. A tomb of just this size and in a corresponding position to one side of the temple axis had been made for one of the king's wives in the Deir el Bahri temple. Therefore we adopted the hypothesis that the Mond tomb was that of a queen and started our search for the king's own tomb.

With the excavation of the platform began the second phase of our work. Over two hundred men and boys dug away the masses of rock and sand that had fallen from the cliffs and the rubbish piles of Mond's excavations (fig. 3). Day after day the little iron cars trundled along the rails and our dump in the valley grew



FIG. 3. LOOKING ACROSS THE PLATFORM WHILE THE WORK WAS IN PROGRESS

longer and longer. We found the level floor cut in the soft shale and the straight face cut along the base of the cliff behind. We cleared a trench which was to have been the foundation of the temple walls that were never built. A dozen small pit tombs turned up one after another and nearly every day we found some stray scrap

the last of his line, after whom the new dynasty moved the capital to Lisht. Even on the question of whether the king was actually buried here or not we are in some doubt. We found the tomb surrounded by a low brick wall as though the place had been held sacred; above the tomb entrance a funeral sacrifice of five bullocks had been



FIG. 4. COFFIN OF THE CHARIOTEER ATEFAMON, WITH HIS CANOPIC BOX ON ITS CHEST, IN POSITION IN THE TOMB

from the funerary furniture of XI dynasty tombs. But, at the end of six weeks, when the entire platform was exposed except for Mond's tomb, there was none of the royal type. Had our work not taken an astonishing turn in another place, we should have been a very disappointed party of excavators.

At present we can offer the student of Egyptian archaeology only a very incomplete explanation of the problems presented by the site. Mond's tomb, being the only important one found on the platform, must be that of the king. That it is off center we must lay to a change of the temple axis made to economize grading. That it is incomparably smaller than the royal tomb at Deir el Bahri must be because it was hastily finished at the death of the king. Nowhere have we found the king's name, but the unfinished state of his monument makes it evident that he was

made and their heads and forelegs buried on the spot. However, the tomb chamber as Mond found it yielded absolutely no trace of funeral furniture, and this in spite of the fact that the door had never been opened and that the tunnel by which thieves had broken in was so small and crooked that no sarcophagus could ever



FIG. 5. CHARIOTEER'S WHIP AFTER THE BROKEN HANDLE HAD BEEN MENDED

have been brought out through it—even a wooden coffin could have been extracted only piecemeal.

Incidentally though, we ran across some interesting facts about the later history of the site. There were a few pits around the edge of the platform, dug for the graves of the king's followers. About four hundred years later—in the troubled period of the XIII to the XVII dynasty—they were reused, a few more were dug, and a little brick house was built to shelter the guardian who looked after them. It was

as lonely a spot then as it is today and he tried to enliven its desolation by starting a little garden in his front yard with earth which he brought up from the fields. Another four or five centuries went by; the choicest sites along the front of the necro-

predecessors out of their coffins and break up their furniture in the search for valuables. Finally the last occupant was brought down, a spot cleared out in the corner of the room, baskets, wigs, coffins, and pitifully maltreated mummies brushed aside, and



FIG. 6. COFFINS OF ATEFAMON. THE INNER COFFIN WAS
ORIGINALLY MADE FOR THE "PRIEST AND SCULPTOR
OF THE TEMPLE OF AMONRÉ, NESIAMON"

polis were all filled with tombs, and again for a few years the less prosperous citizens of Thebes used these old pits. One tomb we found just as the undertakers had left it in the XXII dynasty after blocking its door with stones. As evidence of the callousness of human nature the interior of the burial chamber was astonishing. Four women had been buried there successively, and as each newcomer was brought down the pit for her everlasting rest her undertakers had taken the occasion to drag her

his coffin left there (fig. 4). Had the people who so ghoulishly robbed and destroyed these bodies been modern Arabs or even ancient thieves it would have been one thing, but in each case they were men whose livelihood was made by persuading the families of the dead to spend their substance on the very things they were robbing them of.

The last occupant of the tomb was a man named Atefamon, "Charioteer to the General," and in his coffin we found his

whip broken in three pieces and tied up in its own lash (fig. 5). There was nothing about him to suggest that he was not an Egyptian, and yet in most un-Egyptian manner he had a full and bushy beard. In his day horses and chariots had long been used in Egypt, but it was still remembered that they had first come from Asia, and probably the best horses and the most skil-

out the whole of the work which has been described above. We checked every point, we laid every plan, and we founded all of our hopes on the basis of what Naville had discovered in his Deir el Bahri excavations for the Egypt Exploration Fund between 1903 and 1907. On the way to our own work in the desert valley we often passed through this other temple, and at one time Hauser and I started to make measurements in it to compare with those of our platform and causeway. That was the day we drifted into the conversation that had such unexpected results and started us on the third and most successful phase of our season's work.

I was airing my views to Hauser on what I considered a fundamental error into which Naville had fallen in his excavations. During the whole of his first season's work his men had found fragments of inscriptions naming a King Nebhepetre' Mentuhotep, called "Horus who unites the Two Lands"—the North and South of Egypt. Now while it was already known that the first kings of the XI dynasty (two Intefs and one Mentuhotep) ruled over the South only, there was plenty of evidence in these inscriptions that Nebhepetre' Mentuhotep actually did rule the whole of Egypt. Naville therefore took the king's title literally and announced the discovery of Nebhepetre' Mentuhotep "the Second," the first of the Theban kings to reunite the Two Lands.

In his second winter's work Naville found fragments of inscriptions naming another Mentuhotep with a confusingly similar throne-name—Nebhapatre'. Since he too ruled over the whole of Egypt, and since Nebhepetre' had been credited with the reunion of the country, Nebhapatre' was made his successor. Naville thus reconstructed the chronicle: Nebhepetre' Mentuhotep "the Second" followed by Nebhapatre' Mentuhotep "the Third."

As time went on, Naville's excavations laid bare the whole of the curious temple of the XI dynasty kings at Deir el Bahri (fig. 7). There was a ramp leading up to a platform through two storeys of colonnades, to the temple door. In the center of the temple rose a pyramid, with a col-

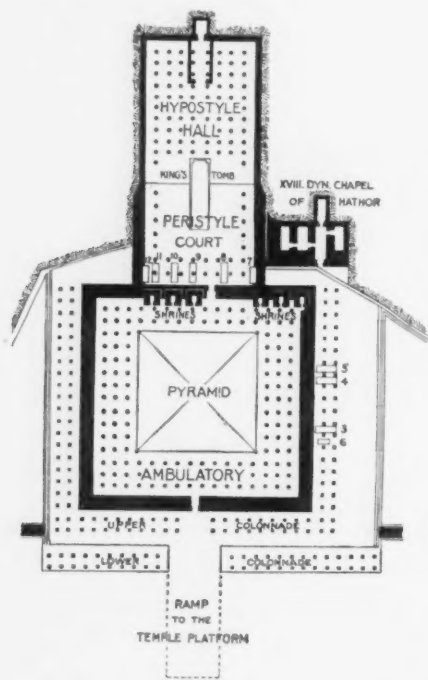


FIG. 7. XI DYNASTY TEMPLE AT DEIR EL BAHRI (AS PLANNED AND RESTORED BY NAVILLE)

ful drivers were foreigners still. The Asiatics always wore beards and here was an Egyptian charioteer imitating them. It makes one think of the days of horses and carriages in this country, when the most stylish coachmen were English and fashion decreed that even those of Yankee birth should copy the English style of side-whiskers.

The reader must already be aware that the temple of the earlier Mentuhoteps at Deir el Bahri was our inspiration through-



FIG. 8. THE ANCIENT PAVEMENT AFTER WE HAD RECLEARED IT. A AND B ARE ALL THAT IS LEFT OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE TWO NORTHERN SHRINES; C AND D THE DEPRESSIONS IN THE PAVEMENT WHICH SHOWED US WHERE THE PITS WERE



FIG. 9. CLEANING THE PITS. FROM FRONT TO BACK THE MEN ARE SEEN WORKING IN THE PITS OF MAÏT, AASHAÏT, AND SADHE THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE SHRINES ARE ON THE LEFT

umned ambulatory round about through which one passed to an open peristyle court with the king's subterranean tomb in the center, and thence to the hypostyle hall with the sanctuary at the back. Every existing bit of this entire structure bore the name of Nebhepetre' Mentuhotep (Naville's "Second") who was unquestionably the builder. The name of Nebhahpetre' Mentuhotep (Naville's "Third") was found only on six little ruined shrines at the back of the ambulatory—but the am-

show how the temple had either been partially demolished to "insert" the shrines and pits under the walls and columns (which were then rebuilt) or how the builder had died before the temple was finished and his successor had taken the occasion to "insert" the shrines under the incompleting structure. However, there are innumerable considerations which make both of these explanations inherently improbable. The Egyptian, so far as we know him, would not have chosen to put the shrines



FIG. 10. THE STONE BLOCKING THE DOOR OF AASHAÏT'S TOMB CHAMBER WITH THE HOLE ABOVE THROUGH WHICH WE FIRST LOOKED IN



FIG. 11. LOOKING INTO THE CHAMBER WITH THE KEMSIÏT COFFIN RESTING ON AASHAÏT'S SARCOPHAGUS

bulatory wall was built on top of these little shrines, and over some of the pits belonging to them in the peristyle court stood columns of the temple.

In short, the work of Naville's "third" king was *under* the work of his "second." Naturally, the work of his "second" or earlier king should have been underneath that of his "third," and some explanation of this topsy-turvy state of affairs was necessary. It did not occur to Naville that he had made a mistake in the order of the kings, and he and his collaborators put forth several theories attempting to

show how the temple had either been partially demolished to "insert" the shrines and pits under the walls and columns (which were then rebuilt) or how the builder had died before the temple was finished and his successor had taken the occasion to "insert" the shrines under the incompleting structure. However, there are innumerable considerations which make both of these explanations inherently improbable. The Egyptian, so far as we know him, would not have chosen to put the shrines

under the walls nor would he have chosen such inconvenient places for them behind columns or tucked away in the corner. Therefore, for us, the shrines existed before the temple was built and in this we felt confirmed by the fact that the style of the shrine sculptures was more archaic than that of the temple sculptures. It followed therefore that King Nebhahpetre' who built the shrines was really Mentuhotep II and Nebhepetre' who built the temple was Mentuhotep III.

So far, of course, the problem was purely historical but at this point it became one of practical, diggers' archaeology. I had often

been over it before, but this time while Hauser and I were discussing it on the spot, it occurred to us both that if our predecessors had been working from such false pre-

still within them. The other three pits (Nos. 7, 8, and 12) contained no sarcophagi, but the coincidence of finding six shrines and six pits had led the excavators



FIG. 12. HAULING AASHAÏT'S COFFIN UP THE PIT

mises they might have missed something worth while, and we hurried home to the house to analyze their book with that in view.

Naville's plan shows at the back of the ambulatory the foundations of the six shrines or miniature chapels built to house the funerary statues of six ladies of the royal harim. He had found enough fragments, of their walls to show that the three shrines south of the doorway from the ambulatory to the court were built for the Queens Henhenit, Kemsit, and Kauit and the three north for Sadhe, Aashait, and an unknown princess. In the peristyle court, on the other side of the wall, his plan shows six grave pits, of which three (Nos. 9, 10, and 11), behind the three southern shrines, led to burial chambers under those shrines with the sarcophagi of Henhenit, Kemsit, and Kauit

to assign these three anonymous pits to the three northern shrines. They thought that the fact that two of these pits were far

away from the shrines to which they assigned them could be explained by a desire to have all of the grave pits within the peristyle court near the king's own tomb.

Here was the historical fallacy again. The court did not exist when the pits were dug, and therefore they could not have been grouped in it. Taking the three cases of the southern shrines where the relation of shrines and pits was beyond



FIG. 13. CARRYING MAÏT'S COFFIN THROUGH THE TEMPLE RUINS

question, we believed that all of the graves should have a corresponding position under the shrines, and we therefore discarded Pit 12 from the count as being too far away to belong to any of the northern shrines. Not only could the same objection be raised about Pit 8, but since Naville's pub-

lication had proved that it was contemporary with the temple itself, we discarded it as being later than the shrines.¹

After these disqualifications the score stood six shrines and four pits. Admitting

theory were true, the place to look for them was directly behind the ruins of the two northern shrines.

If the reader has found all of these arguments and reasonings involved—and in



FIG. 14. CARRYING KEMSIT'S COFFIN DOWN THE RAMP OF THE MENTUHOTEP TEMPLE WITH THE HATSHEPSUT TEMPLE IN THE BACKGROUND



FIG. 15. HAULING UP THE SARCOPHAGUS OF AASHAÏT

that Naville's Pit 7 belonged to Sadhe, we still had to find the burial places of Aashaït and the princess for whom the northernmost shrine was built, and, if our

¹Naville's plan was incorrect in any case, as we found later. Pit 12 is not in the peristyle court after all, but like Pits 3-6 is outside of the temple, as fig. 20 shows.

their outcome so often disappointing—let him picture the state of mind of those of us who had lived with them for weeks. Hauser and I decided to settle this last theorizing right away and as quietly as possible, for if there was to be another false alarm we wanted no one to be the wiser. Since Naville's day a layer of rain-

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION 1920-21

washed mud had covered the place where all our hopes were centered, and a little scratching showed that under the mud there was an ancient pavement which he

interminable disappointments of a digger's life was more than we could stand.

This time, though, there was to be no disappointment. When we went back

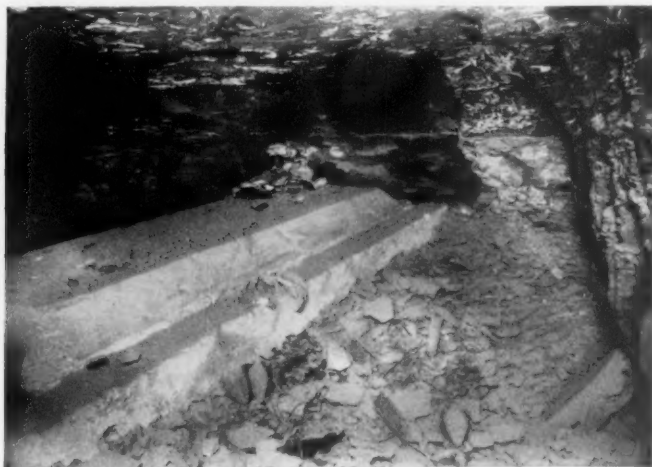


FIG. 16. GIGANTIC SARCOPHAGUS OF MAÏT AS WE FOUND IT, ALMOST BURIED IN THE CHAMBER, WITH THE LID IN PLACE

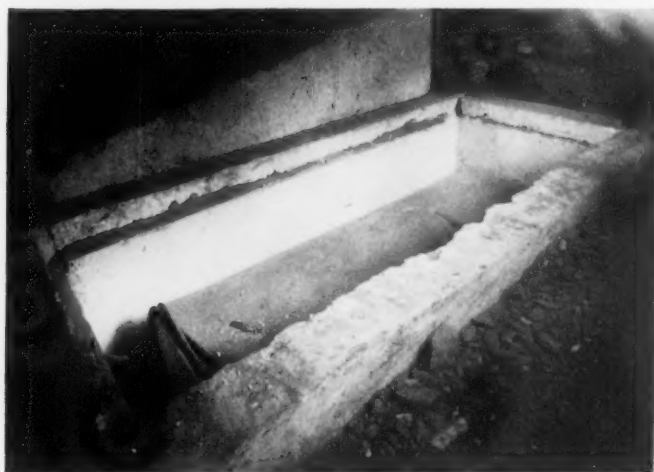


FIG. 17. SARCOPHAGUS OF MAÏT WITH THE LID ROLLED BACK AND THE COFFIN INSIDE WITH AN ANCIENT ROPE STILL LYING ON IT

had found. We had the five foremen of our working gangs draw lots to see which three of them should send men over to clear the mud away, and when we had shown them what to do we left them. Another of the

to the work, the men were brushing the last baskets of dirt away from a practically unbroken ancient pavement and in that pavement, just behind the foundations of the shrine of Aashait, there was an absolutely

plain, tell-tale sinking of the paving slabs outlining the mouth of a pit, and another, only a little less obvious, could be seen behind the northern shrine (fig. 8). There was no doubt that our two pits were there, and the pavement was a guarantee that no one had been in them in modern times.

For another day we had to hold ourselves in while Burton photographed the place and Hauser made a detailed plan of it showing every stone. Then we recalled the native workmen. Up to this time they had not had the slightest inkling of what we had in our minds. We told them to sound with crowbars in the cracks between the paving slabs on either side of the sunken space behind the shrine of Aashaït, and they stolidly reported bed-rock—as we expected. Then we had them take up one slab in the depression and sound there. Mahmud Abu Rayan drove his crowbar down. It sank into soft dirt. He did it again. Suddenly it began to dawn upon him that he was standing in the mouth of a pit. His listlessness was blown away in a breath and all the other men and boys caught the excitement. Mahmud es Sebaï was started in behind the northern shrine in the same way, and we could hardly hold him back from tearing up every stone in sight. Dirt flew and by lunch time they had almost burrowed out of sight (fig. 9). Even the poor fellows who had drawn the job of re-clearing the pit of Sadhe for planning, were swept away in the excitement and thought that they too were about to make their fortunes.

We had found the pits but, as the reader will readily understand, a digger soon becomes a skeptic, and besides there was a growing uneasiness in our minds when we began to find that ancient thieves had been before us. By nightfall, however, the men had got down to the door of Aashaït's chamber and had found it sealed with a great block of limestone (fig. 10). We could not get inside until we had photographed this, but fortunately for our peace of mind there was a ragged hole above the doorway where the rock had broken away and into this we thrust our electric torches for a first glimpse. There was a great wooden coffin tipped on one edge just in-

side, and underneath this we could see a corner of the remarkably sculptured limestone sarcophagus of Aashaït.

The work went more slowly in the other pit but in the course of time a sealed doorway was found at the bottom of it as well. When we opened this we could see an enormous, uninscribed limestone sarcophagus still closed, with dirt piled along the side of it almost to its lid. The thieves had left us something and we began to realize what a find we had made.

The week that followed was a busy one (figs. 12-14). Each day there were photographs for Burton to take underground by reflected light and plans for Hauser to draw, doubled up in the little chambers. From Aashaït's pit we took the great wooden coffin that stood on top of the sarcophagus, hurried it off for safekeeping in the storerooms of the Expedition's house, and set to work on what was under it. A momentary disappointment at finding Aashaït's mummy ripped open by the ancient robbers was forgotten in the next instant when we found her magnificent wooden coffin undamaged. The mummy, the coffin, Aashaït's statuette, and what was left of the pots and bones of her food offerings kept us busy for several days before we could even begin on the northern chamber.

There the great sarcophagus set us a problem. The lid was in place—it must have weighed two tons—and the space to work was so cramped that we could scarcely get to it (fig. 16). Ancient thieves would have broken it with sledge hammers. We dared not, even uninscribed as it was, for fear of breaking what might be inside. Fortunately, though, there were rope-holes in it which had been used four thousand years ago to lower it into place. We worked wire rope through them, got a long lever out into the pit, and with a gang of men hanging on to that, gradually raised the lid inch by inch until we could get beams and rollers under it. The men were then placed squatting alongside of it in the chamber with their backs to the wall and their bare feet against it. The word was given; the men straightened their backs and the great mass of stone was shoved across the



FIG. 18. SARCOPHAGUS OF AASHAÏT IN THE TOMB

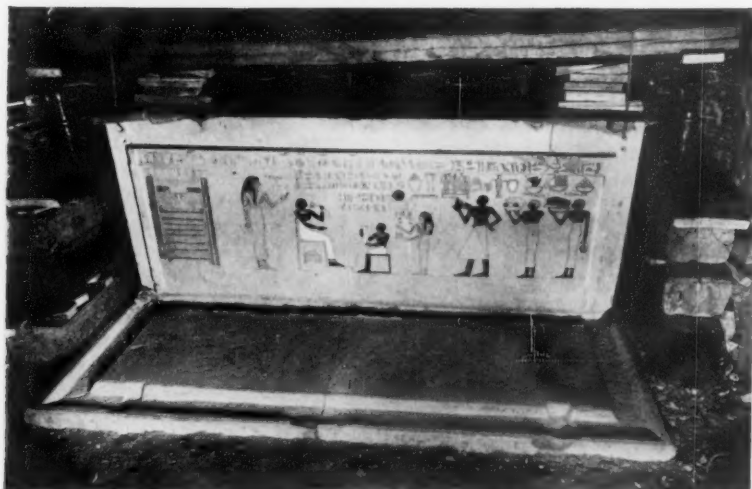


FIG. 19. JACKING UP THE LAST SIDE OF THE SARCOPHAGUS
FOR PACKING

sarcophagus until it toppled over behind, and within we could see a little white coffin, absolutely intact, bearing the name of Mait—"the Cat" (fig. 17).

Even when all of the coffins were out our greatest task remained. There was the sarcophagus of Aashait to be moved and it presented a problem which was unusually complicated. It was built of slabs of limestone tied together at the corners with copper bands (fig. 18). The outside was sculptured with marvelous fineness, while the inside was brilliant with color as fresh as if it had just been painted. It was impossible to lift the structure as it stood and we could not expose the surfaces to risk of damage from ropes and chains or even to the chance of being soiled by the workmen's hands. Plainly it would have to be dismantled and each piece boxed in the chamber, even though some of the slabs might weigh as much as a ton and a half and the space we had to work in was scarcely as large as a good-sized clothes closet. This was a job to be put off until the end of the season when it could have our undivided attention.

When eventually we did get to work on it we cut the copper bands at two of the corners, put ropes through the holes the bands had passed through, rigged a tackle, and lowered one side of the sarcophagus outward into a waiting box. Three or four layers of blankets made a soft bed for the sculptured outer surface and the painted inner face was wedged so that nothing should touch the delicate colors. The ends were not difficult to handle, but the side against the wall was a very different matter. We had to suspend it from a pole—by those invaluable tie-holes in the corners—raise it with jacks from its bedding in the bottom slabs, and then slowly screw it out into the room until we could get a box behind it and pack it with the painted side uppermost (fig. 19).

Day after day in that underground hole with as many as a dozen slaving fellahin was a nightmare. The temperature was so hot in the sunshine above that the foul air below would not rise. One workman had a mild case of influenza and before we were done most of us shared it with him. How-

ever, one by one the boxes were finished, largely on rations of hot tea, and hauled to the surface. Fresh men were put on the pulley chains and the cliffs of Deir el Bahri echoed with the shrieking of the big differential gears (fig. 15). One of the big boxes seemed almost too heavy for the gang who were hauling the chains, from a scaffold built over the pit mouth—and they stopped to take a breath. Then a workman from Kurneh village sang out in a clear tenor, "Whoop, in the name of Sheikh Abdel Kurneh"—our local saint—and all hauled. The chain did not budge and the boss Hamid took a hand. "No," he said, "recite the opening chapter of the Koran in honor of Sheikh Taya," and all hands stood reverently whispering "In the name of God the Compassionate and the Merciful—" for this rival holy man. With the last word they swung on the chain. It moved. The scaffold broke and eight pairs of brown legs were wildly kicking over twenty feet of emptiness, eight pairs of brown hands were clinging desperately to the chain, and eight voices were all squealing to be hauled on to terra firma. After that I insisted on a return to Sheikh Abdel Kurneh, who was evidently less powerful than Sheikh Taya but more conservative.

The tombs of the queens of King Mentuhotep II are now completely excavated (fig. 20). Nothing but the foundations of the little cubical shrines remain in place, but in them one can still see the scratches on the stone sills where the wooden doors used to be opened and the statues drawn out on festival days to receive the offerings to the dead. Scattered chips of the walls which were collected and fitted together by Madame Naville give us some idea of the brilliancy of the decorations on the exteriors. The backs and sides were paneled to represent the great doors of the royal palace, into which the lady enters with the king, while the front showed the harim apartments with the lady in converse with her royal spouse or receiving the ministrations of her servants. Every moulding and every space not filled with pictures bore reiterated prayers for the lady's benefit in which she is called "the royal wife of

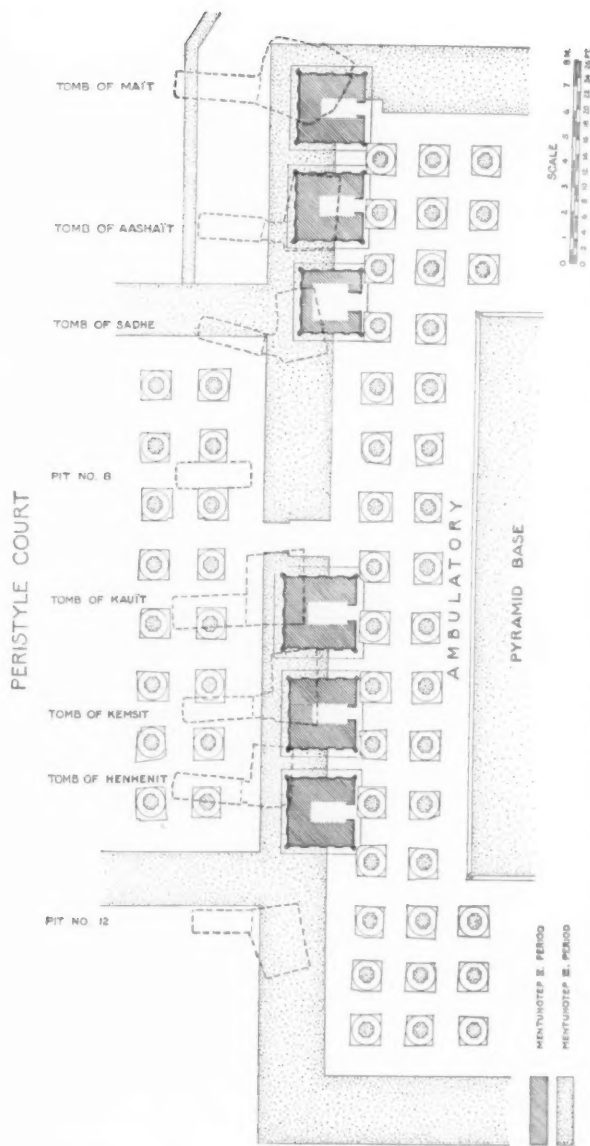


FIG. 20. PLAN OF THE TOMBS OF THE QUEENS OF MENTUHOTEP (AFTER THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM IN 1921)

King Mentuhotep II," and, by a fiction which is not without its humor when so many ladies boast of it in a row, "the *only* royal favorite."

We have seen that behind each shrine there was a grave pit, originally filled with rocks and covered over, and at the bottom of each pit a little tomb chamber in which the queen was buried. Naville found the simple limestone sarcophagus and the despoiled mummy of Henhenit, which together with the fragments of her shrine were presented to the Metropolitan Museum by the Egypt Exploration Fund. The plundered body, fragments of a gorgeously

carefully sealed with large slabs of limestone set in plaster. Evidently the thefts had taken place at some time when the site was still looked after, even though the guardianship might be lax or even venal. The robberies could not have taken place before the temple of Mentuhotep III was built over the shrines, because the thieves had been forced to cut the wall of the temple to pry the stones away from the mouth of Aashait's pit, and had found it necessary to support the temple pavement with wooden beams when they opened the tomb of Kauit. It is inconceivable that such wholesale vandalism could have been

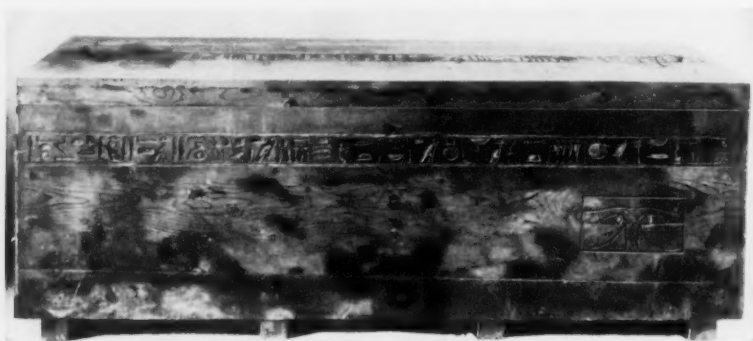


FIG. 21. WOODEN COFFIN OF AASHAIT

painted sarcophagus, and bits of the shrine of Kemsit are in the British Museum. To Cairo went the practically intact sarcophagus of Kauit and all that remained of the shrines of Sadhe and Aashait. It remained for us to discover the two tomb chambers of Aashait and of Mait which had suffered least from ancient thieves and thus preserve the most interesting material of all six pits.

Another digression must be made here on the plundering of these tombs in ancient times, for it has an important bearing on our estimate of Mait, whose coffin we found in the northern shrine. All six pits had been robbed. Those found by Naville had suffered greatly; Sadhe's and Kemsit's most of all. The others would seem to have been entered only once and then to have been closed up again by their guardians. This is how we happened to find the doors of the burial chambers of Aashait

committed during the XI and XII dynasties when the temple was one of the most venerated in Thebes, and yet on the other hand the robbery must have taken place before the early years of the XVIII dynasty. At that time the Hathor chapel was started and all over the temple broken votives from the chapel were scattered, but not a trace of these votives was found under the paving slabs in the fillings of the pits of Aashait and Mait. The plundering, then, took place sometime about four hundred years after the queens were buried, in the troubled period between the XII and the XVIII dynasty when the Hyksos ruled in Lower Egypt and Thebes was reduced to poverty and impotence.

Everything points to the robberies in all six tombs as being of the same date. While we were still digging we did not realize this nor did we have any clear idea of when the tombs had been plundered. After

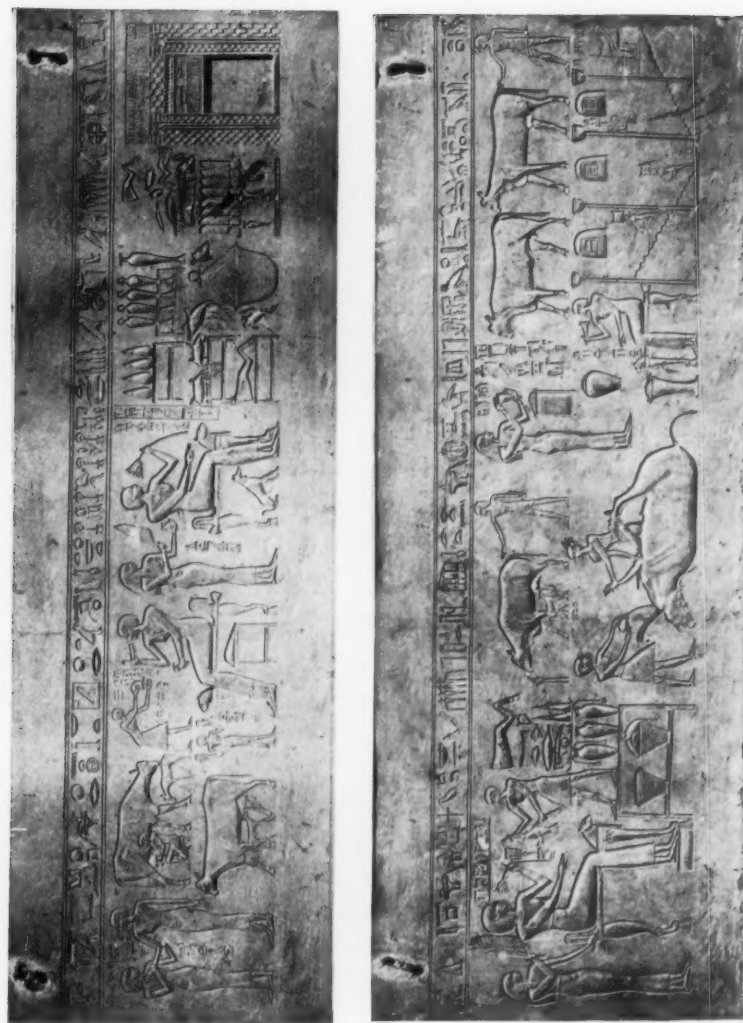


FIG. 22. SCULPTURED SIDES OF THE SARCOPHAGUS OF AASHAIT

finding Queen Aashaït we had expected to find another queen in the northern tomb chamber, and our surprise was great when we discovered only a little girl, scarcely five years old, buried in a cheap set of wooden coffins from which the original name had been erased and that of "Maït" substituted. We jumped to the conclusion that the tomb had originally been built for



FIG. 23. SHEETS AND STATUETTE AS THE THIEVES LEFT THEM IN AASHAÏT'S COFFIN

a queen whose mummy had been despoiled and that after the robbers had left, the little waif had been buried in the deserted grave. In this, however, we were evidently wrong. The robberies took place about 1600 B. C., while everything about this little infant's burial shows that it belongs to the early XI dynasty, before 2000 B. C. Then Hauser noticed, in going over Naville's publication for a second time, that at the end of his first season he had listed with the five known queens, a sixth—"Ta-maït"—which is really the name "Maït"

preceded by the feminine article. In his subsequent volumes Naville omits all mention of the name and leaves us in doubt as to his reasons for giving it at all but, everything considered, we can scarcely escape the conclusion that Maït's name belongs with the queens, and that she was the rightful owner of the northern shrine.

Who Maït was must be left to our imaginations. Buried this way among the wives of Mentuhotep II, possibly she was a daughter of the king who died suddenly and was laid away in an unfinished tomb intended for some grown person, or possibly she was the child of an aristocratic family who had been affianced from birth to the sovereign, but who died before she grew up to marriageable age. Such arrangements are made among the Egyptians to-day and may have been the custom four thousand years ago.

Regarding Aashaït, however, there is no such question. She was an actual queen albeit she had scarcely lived twenty-two or twenty-three years—a plump little person with bobbed hair done up in innumerable little plaits, upon whom the utmost was expended when she was buried in this queens' row. The artists who fashioned the magnificent sarcophagus of Kauit now in Cairo—a piece of sculpture which has been taken as one of the classical examples of Middle Kingdom art ever since its discovery—made Aashaït's sarcophagus as well. It is a masterpiece of the sculpture of a school which was still archaic, but of a technical skill rarely equaled (fig. 22).

On the east side is a representation of the palace doorway with the balcony above, from which Aashaït was supposed to look out upon the world through two graven eyes. Within the palace all manner of good things are heaped before her, while she sits with her dog under her chair and a maid behind her, fanning her with a duck's wing. She drinks milk which the dairymen give her fresh from a pair of cows that are brought in with their calves, or she visits her farm where her steward superintends the peasants carrying sacks of grain up into her granaries. Her maid gives her jars of sweet-smelling perfumes from the boxes in her closets, and her butchers slaughter

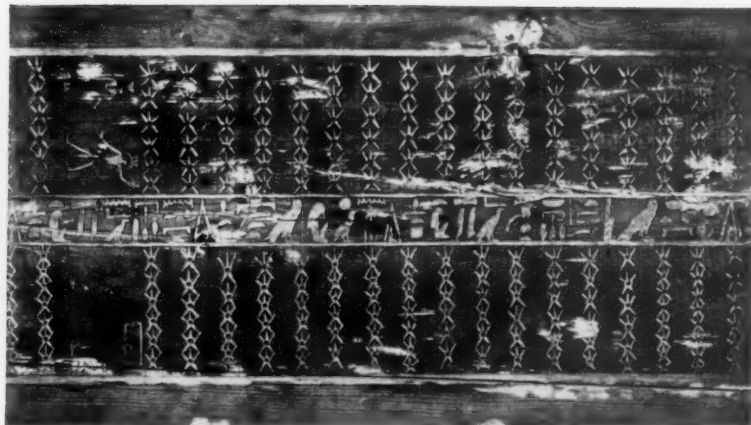


FIG. 24. PART OF THE ASTROLOGICAL ALMANAC INSIDE THE LID
OF THE COFFIN OF AASHAÏT

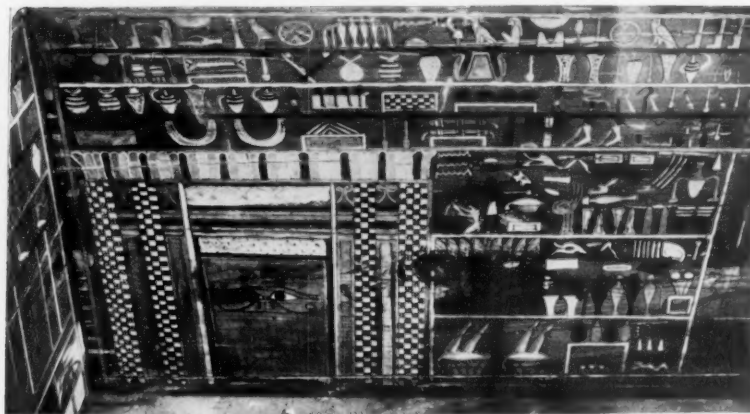


FIG. 25. PART OF THE DECORATION INSIDE THE COFFIN OF AASHAÏT

an ox and heap a dinner-table mountain high before her. Inside, the same scenes are repeated in brilliant colors, for such were the events of her daily life and such were her hopes of the world to come.

On the wooden coffin which stood inside the sarcophagus, the subjects of the decorations belong more to the mysterious realm of magic. Outside it is severely plain, with



FIG. 26. WOODEN STATUETTE
OF QUEEN AASHAIT

fine-grained wood relieved only by bands of gold along the edges, by deeply carved prayers, and once again the eyes which look out upon the world (fig. 21). Inside, all is of a weird brilliancy. The lid of the coffin is the sky and on it is painted an astrological almanac in tabular form, giving the rising of the stars and constellations through the twelve hours of the night, and a long prayer to the beings of the firmament. Our "Great Bear" we find masquerading as a leg of beef (fig. 24). Long magical texts cover the sides and ends of the coffin and above them are ranged in

rows item after item taken from the catalogue of the amulets and talismans necessary to the soul that would escape the dangers and the pitfalls of the netherworld. The student of religion and magic will find here a wealth of data on man's ingenuity in inventing the jargon of mystery (fig. 25).

Inside the coffin Aashait's body had been laid in a mummiform cartonnage, which in spite of its wrecked condition is an important document on Egyptian mortuary customs. Over her had been piled masses of bed sheets to cover her in her eternal sleep (fig. 23) and in the corners of them we found the linen marks of the



FIG. 27. LINEN MARKS FROM
AASHAIT'S GRAVE CLOTHES

royal palace of four thousand years ago—sometimes simply "King Mentuhotep" or "The store of fine linen" (fig. 27) or again the name of the steward who superintended its making or its acquisition. By her side had lain her statuette, archaically stiff, with gold bracelets and a red skirt held up by white suspenders (fig. 26).

The thieves who broke into Aashait's tomb had been looking primarily for precious metals and little had escaped them. A few beads from her necklaces, a shell bracelet of no value to them, and two silver bead anklets were all that they overlooked, but by good fortune during the four centuries she lay in peace, her jewels had left casts in her bandages, which time had not obliterated and from them we were able to draw a diagram of all she had worn. To make room for their work, they had swept aside most of the offering pots and the joints of beef supplied for Aashait's ghostly life, and they had broken the lid of the sarcophagus to get at her body. Beyond

this, however, the sarcophagus, the coffin, and the statuette had suffered no material damage and all three have come down to us almost as fresh and clean as the day they were made.

The guardians of the tomb had intervened almost in time, and had set about to put the tomb in order. From some other

to the Expedition house unopened and at the first chance we had, we set it up in the photographic room. Cameras were assembled, notebooks made ready, and everybody collected around. The word was given, the lid raised, and we all peered in—to see a miserable little pile of rags and nothing else!

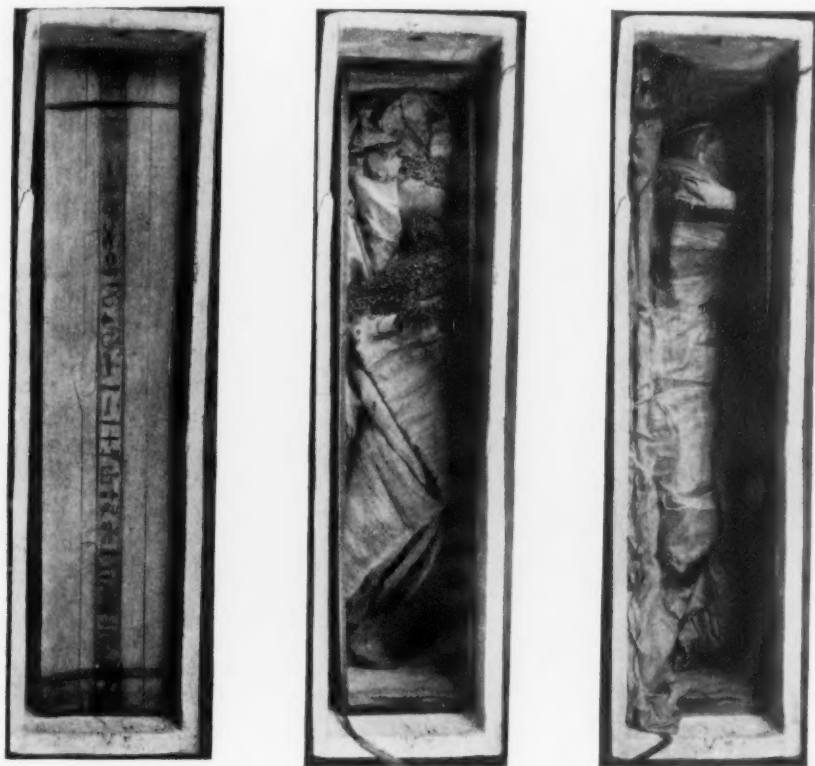


FIG. 28. PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN DURING THE OPENING OF THE COFFINS OF MAÏT

grave broken into by the same robbers they brought the coffin of a certain lady Kemsit (not the queen of the same name) and put it here in Aashait's chamber, wedged in on top of her sarcophagus. Then they sealed the door, filled the pit, and replaced the paving slabs above.

We owe much to those guardians, but our gratitude was not unmitigated. The coffin of Kemsit was the first thing we removed; it was closed and apparently still intact and our hopes were high of finding untold treasures within it. We carried it

Evidently the thieves had broken into the tomb of Maït also, but they were either half-hearted in their work or they were interrupted, for they accomplished nothing. After taking out all of the boulders with which the pit was filled, except a few of the heaviest, they had heaped the chamber itself with dirt and stones to the height of the sarcophagus, the easier to move the lid. Then they cut the copper bands from the corners of the sarcophagus and prepared ropes for lifting the lid. Possibly they had started to work on it, for it was chipped

along the edges and a piece of their rope was found inside. But that is as far as they went.

When we opened the big sarcophagus the little whitewashed wooden coffin of Mait lay within. Beside it there had been tossed a pile of linen cloth, which we took for a pall such as we had found the year before in the tomb of Wah. At the house the coffin was photographed and then opened (fig. 28). Inside we found a second coffin with strips of cloth holding the lid in place, and within the second coffin lay a

after another five charming necklaces appeared (fig. 29). Mait may have been hastened off to the grave in whatever coffins could be found, but at least she was decked out in all the finery she had worn during her brief life (fig. 30).

There was a string of great ball beads of hollow gold; another of carnelian beads; two necklaces of minute beads of silver, carnelian, green felspar, and rich blue glass; and a necklace of gold disks so fine that strung on leather bands they look like a supple tube of unbroken gold. Removing

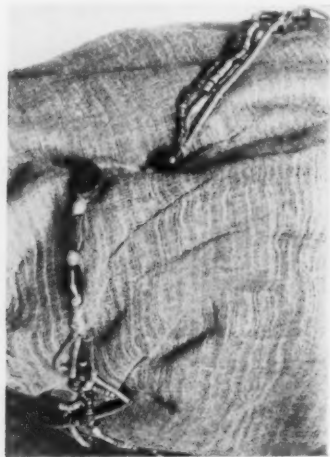


FIG. 29. NECKLACES AS THEY WERE FOUND AMONG MAÏT'S BANDAGES

pile of linen bed clothes covering the little mummy. There Maït lay upon her side with the eyes of her plaster mask gazing through the eyes painted on her coffins. The coffins were small, but the wrapped mummy with its mask was much smaller, and as we came to unwrap it we found that, small as it was, it was mostly padding at head and foot to disguise the tiny proportions of the pathetic little infant within. Certainly from outward appearances no great wealth seems to have been lavished on little Maït, and through hours of alternate unwrapping and photographing we tried to stave off the disappointment we felt at not having found anything of striking importance in her tomb. Bandage after bandage was removed and then suddenly there was a glint of carnelian beads. Carefully the linen was cut away and one

each necklace carefully we were able to preserve the exact arrangement of every bead. In fact, the carnelian necklace still remains on its original string; the end cords of the gold ball beads could be saved, and the leather of the gold disk beads, while hard, had only to be softened a little to be bent into shape. The two necklaces of small beads had to be restrung and the silver and glass units cleaned to admit new thread, but in doing so we recovered all of the brilliant, joyous color scheme of the jewelry as little Maït wore it four thousand years ago.

The force of the expedition at Thebes throughout the campaign consisted of the writer; Walter Hauser, whose work was principally the planning and surveying of the work; and Henry Burton, who was photographing tombs as part of the work of

THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION 1920-21

the Tytus Fund, but who took a hand in the excavations and photographed them and the material found whenever need arose. Albert Nixon arrived from Lisht just when the heaviest tasks fell on us with the tombs of Aashait and Mait, and

cies and elations as they overwhelmed us by turns.

The end of the season presented a difficult problem in dividing the finds between the Cairo and Metropolitan Museums. M. Lacau, the Director General of the



FIG. 30. JEWELRY OF THE PRINCESS MAÏT

undertook those innumerable details of administration which would have been forgotten in the hurry and bustle of the moment. Throughout the most interesting weeks of the season the Director of the Museum, Edward Robinson, and Mrs. Robinson were staying in the Expedition House and shared with us our desponden-

Service des Antiquités, Mr. Quibell of the Cairo Museum, Mr. Mace with the finds from Lisht, and I carefully weighed all the possibilities of a division and finally came unanimously to the conclusion that it would be the best course to withhold the material and divide it in a lump with the finds of next season. H. E. WINLOCK.

IV. THE MONASTERIES IN WADY 'N NATRÛN

IN the Supplement to the BULLETIN for July, 1920,¹ the results of research into the sources for the architectural and general history of the monasteries in the Wady 'n Natrûn were summarized. The present report comprises four sections: I. On further results of literary research; II. On work in the monasteries themselves in 1920-1921; III. On the life of the monks at the present day; IV. On the discovery of manuscript fragments at Dêr Abû Makâr.

I. Minor details being ignored, literary

portant note begins: "Of your charity, Fathers of the Faith . . . pray for the race of the Tekritans, i. e. the Orientals, who bought this monastery from the Egyptians for 12,000 darics by the great zeal of the great noble Marutha, son of Habbib, whose [father was] at one time Secretary of the Sultan (*sic*) of Egypt." It goes on to relate the circumstances of the purchase—how Marutha, when visiting the desert, found his compatriots scattered in various monasteries, and bought what is now Dêr



FIG. 1. GROUP OF MONKS: DÊR ABÛ MAKÂR

research has brought us two very valuable pieces of new information.

First: no less than three notes² in Syriac manuscripts definitely clear up the obscurity veiling the Syrian occupation of Dêr es Suriân. This monastery, anciently known as "The Monastery of the Theotokos of Abba Pishôï," originated as a purely Coptic foundation in the sixth century, when the outbreak of the Julianist Heresy caused the orthodox to establish duplicates of the original Four Monasteries.³ Our most im-

es Suriân from the Patriarch of Alexandria to be their common home. A second note asserts that during the building of "the vault [dome] which is over the door of the Church" (i. e. the north porch still existing) the monks found "a tablet written in Syriac and Egyptian" again asserting that the monastery was purchased by Marutha for 12,000 "red dinârs" (about £6,000). This purchase, which amply explains the hitherto puzzling connection of the monastery with far-off Tekrit, can only have taken place in the eighth century.

Second: an Arabic manuscript has become available containing narratives of patriarchal visits to the monasteries in the first half of the fourteenth century. These shed much welcome light on the general state of the monasteries at that period; but

¹ pp. 34 ff.

² I am indebted to Abbé Joseph Ziadeh for drawing my attention to two of these notes, and to Professor F. C. Burkitt, who most kindly transcribed the texts from photographs and provided me with translations.

³ See BULLETIN, July, 1920, Supplement, p. 36.



FIG. 2. DER ABÛ MAKÂR. INTERIOR, NORTH HALF SHOWING THE CHURCHES OF ABÛ ISKHÎRÛN (FOREGROUND), OF ESH SHEYÛKH (LEFT), AND OF ABÛ MAKÂR (CENTER BACK)



FIG. 3. DÊR ABÛ MAKÂR FROM THE SOUTHEAST

in two particulars they are invaluable.⁴ From the accounts of the Maundy Processions at Dêr Abû Makâr we can reconstruct the "Great" or "Catholic" Church of Saint Macarius (of which but a precious fragment now remains)—a vast structure containing four major sanctuaries and a quadruple nave (fig. 2). No less valuable is a notice concerning Dêr Anba Bishôi. In



FIG. 4. MARBLE PANEL: CHURCH OF ABÛ MAKÂR

1330 this monastery was nearly ruined, white ants having devoured its woodwork, including the *timber roof* of the church. Our record relates how Patriarch Benjamin II restored the church, building the existing brick vault over the nave, and reconstructing the main sanctuary.

II. In order to correlate literary evidence with extant remains, and also to enlarge our architectural and photographic survey, members of the Expedition visited

⁴Through a translation of excerpts specially prepared by Abbé Ziadeh. Later, Abbé Louis Villecourt of Farnham Abbey most generously allowed me to read through his translation of the complete manuscript.

the monasteries in 1920-1921. During six weeks (March-May, 1920) I worked alone, exploring and making a general study of each monastery in turn; in November to December, 1920, Mr. Burton, Mr. Hauser, and myself spent three strenuous weeks in the desert; and in April, 1921, I returned to Dêr Abû Makâr with a limited program.

On the second occasion, Mr. Hewgill, manager of the Salt and Soda Company's works, having kindly put a special train at our disposal, we were carried out from the Company's Headquarters to "Kilo 14," and there deposited to make our way on foot to Dêr Abû Makâr, the most remote of the monasteries. Nothing but desert was in sight, but taking a general direction from Mr. Hewgill we trudged in faith across a gravel waste, which here undulates like a gently swelling sea, toward a blank horizon—and in a driving rain. At length, surmounting one of many low, rounded folds, we looked out from the brow of a long slope across the valley or *wady*, and sighted Dêr Abû Makâr away to our left, a dark blot upon the reverse slope of the valley. What with the rain and the wide belt of loose sand covering the floor of the *wady*, we were not sorry when we drew near the monastery (fig. 3). Halting before a low, iron-plated postern set in a lofty archway, we rang a peal on the small bell which hangs on the summit of the wall. There was some delay followed by some shuffling. Then a voice from within demanded "Min?" (Who is it?). "Three khawâgahs with a letter from the Patriarch" was apparently a satisfactory answer; for we were admitted and led by a group of admiring brethren to the Guest-House, to be received by Abûna Maximus the Amîn ed Dêr or Prior.

Civilities being ended, we turned to unpacking and on the following day commenced work. The *kasr* or keep of the monastery was first attacked (fig. 6). Burton and his Arab satellites, coaxing daylight into sunless chapels, photographed wall-paintings and precious woodwork half-hidden in obscurity (see the door-head in the haikal screen in the chapel of El Adra in the keep, illustrated on the cover); while Hauser vanished into the



FIG. 5. CHURCH OF EL ADRA, DÊR ES SURIÂN, FROM THE NORTH



FIG. 6. SOUTH HALF OF DÊR ABÛ MAKÂR: INTERIOR,
SHOWING THE KASR

deeper gloom of the bat-haunted basement to begin his plans and sections. The fragmentary Church of Abû Makâr was next visited (see fig. 2), and the remains of its former splendors recorded (fig. 4); then the two minor churches and the refectory. Work at this monastery ended with a survey under Hauser's remorseless direction of the ruined "dependent cells" which clustered, all too numerous, round the walls of the main monastery.

various relics, including the hair of Mary Magdalene, were formerly preserved.

From our quarters in Dêr es Suriân we were able to carry on work first at Dêr Anba Bishôï, where the picturesque refectory is perhaps the most attractive building (fig. 8), and later in the field of ruins two miles to the south. In this latter area, the Monasteries of John the Little, of John Kamé, of the Armenians, and of the Abyssinians once stood: here, too, the

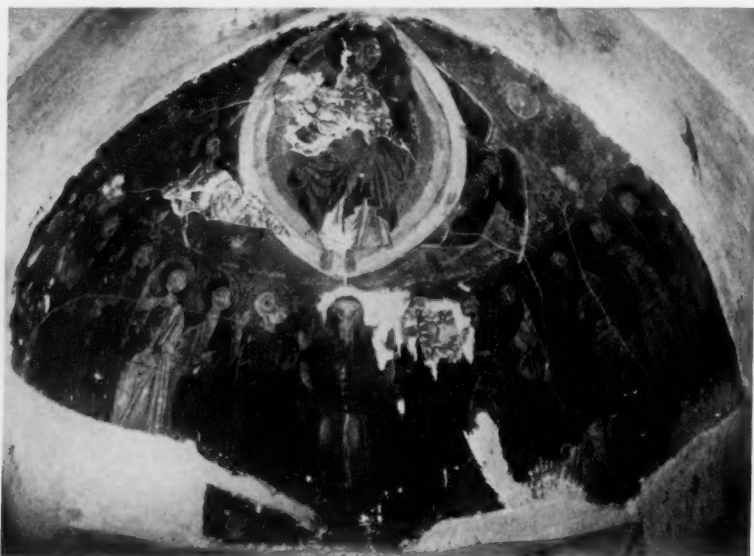


FIG. 7. PAINTING OF THE ASCENSION: CHURCH OF EL ADRA
DÊR ES SURIÂN

From Dêr Abû Makâr we went on foot to Dêr es Suriân, built, as the monks assured us, on the model of Noah's ark. The principal church, a fine example of ninth-century work, is that built by the Tekritan monks Mattai and Abraham after the sack of the monasteries in 817 A. D. (fig. 5). Here the famous intarsia screens, the paintings, and the stucco work fully engaged Burton's energy and resource (fig. 7). In the meantime Hauser, while engaged in architectural study of the *kasr*, made the most happy discovery of an inlaid coffer (tenth century) in which, as we now know,⁵

famous "Tree of Obedience" still maintains a green old age.

Lastly, a few days were spent at Dêr el Baramûs, the most westerly of the monasteries. Travelers from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century all agree that they found it extremely ruinous; and this no doubt accounts for the comparative scarcity of objects of interest. Yet the ancient church with its fine sanctuary doors of the Fatimide Period and a striking, if not graceful, composite capital (a fragment of an earlier structure), the primitive refectory, and the *kasr* are well worthy of close attention.

It is impossible here to present the particular results attained by study of these monasteries, and a general statement

⁵From a document communicated by S. E. Morcos Pasha Simaika by permission of the Very Reverend El Kummus Maximus, Abbot of the Monastery.

must suffice. With the possible exception of a single building and some isolated fragments, all that is to be seen in these monasteries dates from the ninth century downwards. The explanation is simple. The last sack of the monasteries in 817 A. D. was complete, and little was left fit to be

dwellers in these monasteries at the present day may be added.

He who would become a monk communicates his desire to the local Bishop, who examines the applicant as to his fitness and sincerity. Ordinarily and for reason good no one below the age of full

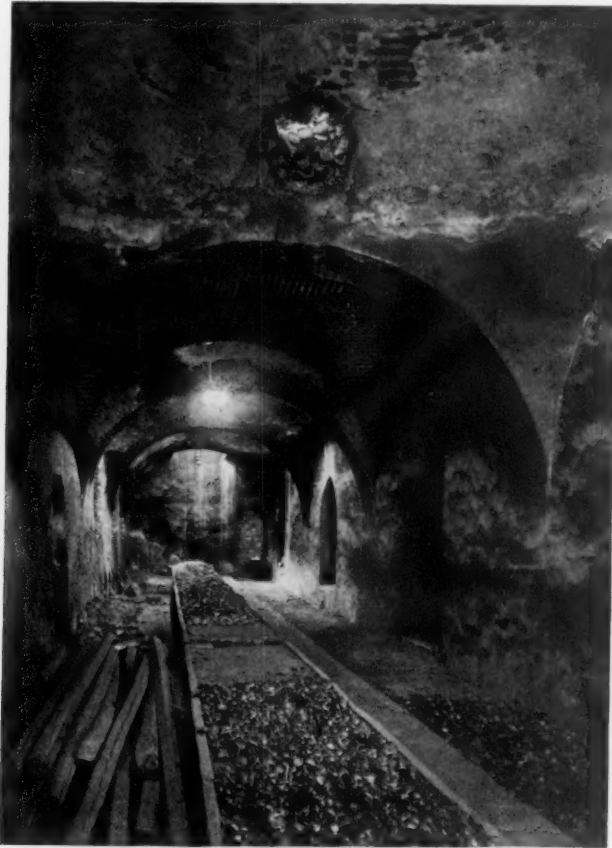


FIG. 8. DÊR ANBA BISHÔÏ: REFECTORY INTERIOR
LOOKING NORTH

retained in the subsequent restoration. This fact does not lessen the archaeological value of the monasteries. Alike in their general architecture and in the objects of art—paintings and work in wood, metal, and stucco—they are invaluable monuments of Coptic art in the early and full Middle Ages.

III. A few notes on the life⁶ of the

⁶The monks are not very communicative as to the details of their life.

manhood is admitted as a novice. On his arrival in a monastery the postulant is placed in charge of a Sheykh or Senior, who "knocks the devil out of him" (*yedrih esh Sheitân minnub*) and teaches him the lore of the monastic life. At the end of three years (or less) the novice "takes the habit" and, having become a monk, is ecclesiastically bound to remain such for the rest of his life.

Life in the monasteries is not exacting. Apart from gardening and "odd jobs" there is no manual labor: a good deal of the day is spent (I understand) in meditation and private devotion, and there is some study and copying of books (both apparently voluntary). The monks assemble for service ordinarily in the morning about 6-6:30 a. m. and in the evening about sunset; but it is usual to rise at about 3 a. m. and to recite an office privately with forty-one *metâniâhs* (prostrations). The "Offering" (Korban) or Communion is celebrated every Sunday morning.

The isolation and monotony of their life tend to produce irritability in monks of a certain temperament and quarrels sometimes occur. But in general the brethren are cheerful and not too severe to enjoy a simple jest. From the same causes western visitors, whose ways and talk introduce an element of novelty, usually receive a kindly welcome; yet the archaeologist, whose too curious interest in the past is believed to be elaborate camouflage concealing some dark design, is liable to be regarded with some suspicion.

IV. Every reader of Curzon's Visits to



FIG. 9. TWO LEAVES FROM THE APOCRYPHAL ACTS

Each monk has his own cell in which he lives, sleeps, and eats: there are no dormitories, and the refectories are used (if at all) only at special seasons. The dress of the monk when abroad is a long black robe, sleeved and comparatively loose, which is worn over the usual Egyptian body garments—and a black turban (fig. 1). Within the monastery the garb is not very uniform though the black outer robe with a black or white skull-cap predominates.

Their food is of the simplest—bread, thick lentil soup, fried lentils, onions, garlic, and occasionally eggs. Meat is eaten only on feast-days, but coffee and tobacco are in very general use. Wine is lawful, but is rarely taken.

Monasteries in the Levant will recall the adventure of the blind abbot and the Syriac manuscripts at Dêr es Suriân. But comparatively few are aware that Curzon was by no means the first to recover literary treasure from the Wady 'n Natrûn, and that Dêr es Suriân was not the only source in the desert of such wealth. Dêr Abû Makâr also possessed a very important library; and as far back as the seventeenth century what then survived of its riches was beginning to reach Europe. In the early eighteenth century J. S. Assemani secured here the magnificent series of Bohairic manuscripts which are now in the Vatican Library. Assemani remarks that the monks had nothing left which "even a

grasping man would tarry for." Nevertheless, the gleaners have not gone unrewarded: Henry Tattam secured a certain number of valuable fragments in 1839 and Tischendorf (1844) carried off the notable collection which is now preserved at Leipzig.

It has been too readily assumed that this mine has been exhausted. In 1920 the monks showed me a concealed room or cellar beneath the floor of the ancient book-room, in which a great mass of leaves and fragments of manuscripts, mostly in Coptic and Arabic, lay in utter confusion. At the earliest opportunity I persuaded the monks to let me make a rapid search through the heap, and as a result secured a number of parchment leaves from manuscripts of the ninth to the twelfth century. These the monks most good-naturedly permitted me to take to Cairo, where later the Coptic authorities kindly allowed me to take a selection to England for study. Examination soon showed the importance of these leaves and the necessity of instituting a more thorough search. Through the kind offices of S. E. Morcos Pasha Simaika and by the enlightened permission of the Very Rev. the Abbot, authorization was obtained and in April, 1921, I searched the contents of the "waste-paper room" handful by handful.

Ignoring Biblical and liturgical fragments and leaves from published texts, we may make the following brief statement of the accruing gains.

In the realm of apocryphal literature we have four groups. (1) A fragment on the legend of Adam, in which the sacrifice of the Giants Cain and Abel is narrated, the murder of Abel on *Golgotha*, the center of the earth, the burial of Adam's skull in the same place, and finally the rising up of Adam at the Crucifixion when his skull was reached by the blood of Christ. (2) Five folios from a Gospel or Revelation in which Christ informs his disciples of his Second Coming to reign on earth for the "Thousand Years." The group opens with a laudation by the Father of Christ, who is acclaimed by the angels and descends from Heaven in glory with his saints. The followers of anti-Christ are removed by "Mistrael (*sic*) the Angel of

Wrath" to the "regions which are without" and a judgment in Amenti follows. Anti-Christ himself is bound; but the "Great Devil" establishes a rival kingdom in Chorazin and Bethsaida, where he is opposed by Enoch. The four remaining pages present a less intelligible context. (3) A Gospel fragment in which the Good Thief addresses the people in defense of Christ. (4) A substantial portion (76 pp.) of a manuscript (on paper) of the

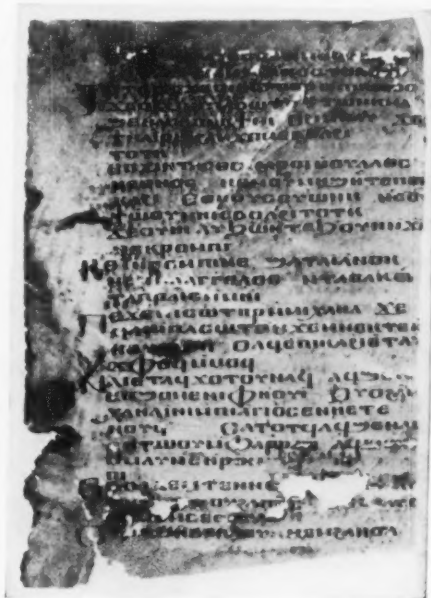


FIG. 10. PAGE FROM THE LIFE OF PIDJIMI

Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (fig. 9), which now for the first time emerge in a Bohairic version.⁷

The bulk of the new fragments are hagiographical, and contain several noteworthy groups, such as pages from the Life of Pidjimi (fig. 10), of Peter the Iberian (a work valuable historically, but hitherto known only in Syriac and Georgian ver-

⁷A Bohairic Martyrdom of St. Luke is extant (Cod. Copt. Vat. LXVIII. 2.), but differs markedly from the text of the new manuscript. A single leaf of the latter (found by Tischendorf) is in the Cambridge University Library, and was published by Gaselee (Journ. Theol. Stud. X. 52 f.).

sions), from the Vision of Benjamin or the Consecration of the Church of Saint Macarius, from the Martyrdoms of Thomas, of Shentelet, of Paësi and Thekla, of Apa Kradjon (fig. 11), and of Apa Apoli (the last-named group of fragments belong to the first half of the narrative, missing from the Vatican manuscript).

In very many cases these pages belong to the same manuscripts from which Tischendorff's leaves are derived, and not rarely the new fragments actually fit those recovered nearly eighty years ago. Consequently, by combining the new series with the finds of Tischendorff and Tattam

it is possible to reconstruct appreciable portions of the original Coptic texts of these works. It is hoped that publication of the new fragments may proceed on these lines.

Much must be left unreported here; but in conclusion a word of mention must be made of a group of leaves in the Arabic language, but written in Coptic characters. Two leaves of the same manuscript were found by Tischendorff in 1844, and are now at Cambridge.⁸

H. G. EVELYN WHITE.

⁸Published by Le Page Renouf, *Proc. Soc. of Bibl. Arch.* XI, 155 ff.



FIG. 11. FIRST LEAF FROM THE MARTYRDOM OF APA KRADJON